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## Why Do We Study History?

*"All people are living histories – which is why History matters"* Penelope J. Corfield

Historians are often asked: what is the use or relevance of studying History? Why on earth does it matter what happened long ago? The answer is that History is inescapable. It studies the past and the legacies of the past in the present. Far from being a 'dead' subject, it connects things through time and encourages its students to take a long view of such connections.

All people and peoples are living histories. To take a few obvious examples: communities speak languages that are inherited from the past. They live in societies with complex cultures, traditions and religions that have not been created on the spur of the moment. People use technologies that they have not themselves invented. And each individual is born with a personal variant of an inherited genetic template, known as the genome, which has evolved during the entire life-span of the human species.

So understanding the linkages between past and present is absolutely basic for a good understanding of the condition of being human. That, in a nutshell, is why History matters. It is not just 'useful', it is essential.

The study of the past is essential for 'rooting' people in time. And why should *that* matter? The answer is that people who feel themselves to be rootless live rootless lives, often causing a lot of damage to themselves and others in the process. Indeed, at the most extreme end of the out-of-history spectrum, those individuals with the distressing experience of complete memory loss cannot manage on their own at all. In fact, all people have a full historical context. But some, generally for reasons that are no fault of their own, grow up with a weak or troubled sense of their own placing, whether within their families or within the wider world. They lack a sense of roots. For others, by contrast, the inherited legacy may even be *too* powerful and outright oppressive.

In all cases, understanding History is integral to a good understanding of the condition of being human. That allows people to build, and, as may well be necessary, also to change, upon a secure foundation. Neither of these options can be undertaken well without understanding the context and starting points. All living people live in the here-and-now but it took a long unfolding history to get everything to NOW. And that history is located in time-space, which holds this cosmos together, and which frames both the past and the present.

## INTRODUCTION

The African American experience spans four hundred years, from the initial settlement of the American continent by Europeans and the establishment of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and down through the present day. Throughout their sufferings and ordeals, the people of African descent who were brought involuntarily to this country found the courage and creativity to "make themselves." They constructed their own unique rituals, traditions and symbols; a distinct spirituality, music, art, dance and folklore; a rich cultural heritage, kinship and community; and a complex body of political and social ideas about the contradictory nature of American democracy and the position of black people within it. In effect, black Americans made their own history, although not always in the manner in which they chose, because they were encumbered by the constraints of institutional racism and white privilege.

This book in the African American experience is largely constructed around the voices and language used by black people themselves. The course begins with the United States Constitution - the foundation of our country and the way that we live - with an emphasis on the ideas of black social thought, political protest and efforts to create social change. The book covers the historical foundations and background to the modern black experience, from the struggle against slavery to the Civil Rights Era. It also focuses on the past fifty years, from the Civil Rights Act to the twenty-first century.

This book also discusses a wide spectrum of African-American leaders, intellectuals, organizations and institutions. Some have focused their energies primarily in finding ways for the black community to survive discrimination and oppression. Through the development of their unique cultural and social traditions, and the establishment of African-American organizations, black people have managed to sustain themselves in the face of almost constant adversity. Other African Americans have advocated strategies of collective political change, challenging the barriers of inequality in white America. And still others have resorted to more radical means, from the slave rebellions of the nineteenth century to the ghetto uprisings of the late twentieth century, to improve the conditions of the black people. Despite these differences, what brings together nearly all representatives of the black experience are the common efforts to achieve the same goals: the elimination of racism, the realization of democratic rights and greater social fairness within a racially pluralistic society, and achievement of cultural integrity of the black community.

This book will help you acquire a fuller understanding about the historical development and social construction of black America: what African Americans have thought about themselves and the larger society, how they have evolved as a community with a distinct culture from slavery to the twenty-first century, and where they may be going as a people.

## **Why is it study African American history important?**

*"I find that African American history is very interesting. It should be taught as part of the general American History curriculum in schools, and not just in February. From what I have found out in college is that if the school was all white they didn't even learn black history. There are so many misconceptions of what life was like for black people in America, if you learn about the history, in a regular context during the school year and not for 28 days, then you really can learn a lot. And it stops the idea of separation, which what they are creating now by just teaching it in February."*

**M.M.A.**

*The contributions of the African Americans should be included into the history books and educational institutes. African Americans were told they were dumb, uneducatable. Of course, that was never true. We deserve to see Icons, Mentors, Inventors, and everyday Heroes who share our ethnic background. Besides, if you invented something, which ended up helping other people, wouldn't you like the recognition for it? If it were a family member, wouldn't you like to see what they accomplished in their life? In not including African-American History or learning about them you discredit many hard working, and wonderful people who have sacrificed also for advancement in every field out there, for the betterment of mankind!*

**A.A.**

## **The United States Constitution**

### **Preamble**

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

### **Article. I.**

#### **Section 1.**

All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

#### **Section. 2.**

[Clause 1] The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

[Clause 2] No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

[Clause 3] Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one,

Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

[Clause 4] When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

[Clause 5] The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

### Section. 3.

[Clause 1] The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

[Clause 2] Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

[Clause 3] No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

[Clause 4] The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

[Clause 5] The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

[Clause 6] The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

[Clause 7] Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the



Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

#### Section. 4.

[Clause 1] The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

[Clause 2] The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

#### Section. 5.

[Clause 1] Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

[Clause 2] Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

[Clause 3] Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

[Clause 4] Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

#### Section. 6.

[Clause 1] The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

[Clause 2] No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

#### Section. 7.

[Clause 1] All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

[Clause 2] Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

[Clause 3] Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

#### Section. 8.

[Clause 1] The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

[Clause 2] To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

[Clause 3] To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

[Clause 4] To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

[Clause 5] To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

[Clause 6] To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

[Clause 7] To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

[Clause 8] To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

[Clause 9] To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

[Clause 10] To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

[Clause 11] To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

[Clause 12] To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

[Clause 13] To provide and maintain a Navy;

[Clause 14] To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

[Clause 15] To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

[Clause 16] To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

[Clause 17] To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;--And

[Clause 18] To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

#### Section. 9.

[Clause 1] The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

[Clause 2] The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

[Clause 3] No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

[Clause 4] No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

[Clause 5] No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

[Clause 6] No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

[Clause 7] No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

[Clause 8] No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

#### Section. 10.

[Clause 1] No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

[Clause 2] No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing it's inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

[Clause 3] No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

## **Article. II.**

### **Section. 1.**

[Clause 1] The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

[Clause 2] Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

[Clause 3] The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the

greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.

[Clause 4] The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

[Clause 5] No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

[Clause 6] In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

[Clause 7] The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

[Clause 8] Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:--"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

## Section. 2.

[Clause 1] The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any

Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

[Clause 2] He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

[Clause 3] The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

### Section. 3.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

### Section. 4.

The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

## **Article. III.**

### Section. 1.

The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

### Section. 2.

[Clause 1] The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;--to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;--to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;--to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;--to Controversies between two or more States;--between a State and Citizens of another State;--between Citizens of different States, --between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

[Clause 2] In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

[Clause 3] The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

### Section. 3.

[Clause 1] Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

[Clause 2] The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

## **Article. IV.**

### Section. 1.

Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

### Section. 2.

[Clause 1] The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.



[Clause 2] A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

[Clause 3] No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

### Section. 3.

[Clause 1] New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

[Clause 2] The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

### Section. 4.

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

## **Article. V.**

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

## **Article. VI.**

[Clause 1] All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

[Clause 2] This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

[Clause 3] The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

## **Article. VII.**

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth In witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

### **Signers**

George Washington, President and deputy from Virginia

Connecticut: William S. Johnson, Roger Sherman

Delaware: George Read, Gunning Bedford Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom

Georgia: William Few, Abraham Baldwin

Maryland: James McHenry, Daniel of St Thomas, Jenifer, Daniel Carroll

Massachusetts: Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King

New Hampshire: John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman

New York: Alexander Hamilton

New Jersey: William Livingston, David Brearly, William Paterson, Jonathan Dayton

North Carolina: William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hu Williamson

Pennsylvania: Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas FitzSimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris

South Carolina: J. Rutledge, Charles C. Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler

Virginia: John Blair, James Madison Jr.

## **Amendments**

[**The Bill of Rights.** These are the first 10 amendments to the Constitution. They were ratified in 1791.]

### **Amendment I.**

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

### **Amendment II.**

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

### **Amendment III.**

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

### **Amendment IV.**

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

### **Amendment V.**

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

### **Amendment VI.**

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district

shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

#### **Amendment VII.**

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

#### **Amendment VIII.**

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

#### **Amendment IX.**

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

#### **Amendment X.**

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

#### **Other Amendments**

##### **Amendment XI. [1798]**

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

##### **Amendment XII. [1804]**

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the

Senate;--The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;--The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

#### **Amendment XIII. [1865]**

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### **Amendment XIV. [1868]**

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United

States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

#### **Amendment XV. [1870]**

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### **Amendment XVI. [1913]**

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

#### **Amendment XVII. [1913]**

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

**Amendment XVIII.** [1919]

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

**Amendment XIX.** [1920]

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

**Amendment XX.** [1933]

Section 1. The terms of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.



Section 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

Section 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

Section 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

Section 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

#### **Amendment XXI. [1933]**

Section 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Section 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

#### **Amendment XXII. [1951]**

Section 1. No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once. But this Article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this Article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this Article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

Section 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.

**Amendment XXIII. [1961]**

Section 1. The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct:

A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

**Amendment XXIV. [1964]**

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

**Amendment XXV. [1967]**

Section 1. In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President.

Section 2. Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress.

Section 3. Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President.

Section 4. Whenever the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both Houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.

#### **Amendment XXVI. [1971]**

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### **Amendment XXVII. [1992]**

No law, varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.

## **The Declaration of Independence: A Transcription**

*IN CONGRESS, July 4, 1776.*

*The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,*

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.--That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, --That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.--Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the

depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our Brittish brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

***The 56 signatures on the Declaration appear in the positions indicated:***

<b><i>New Hampshire:</i></b>	Oliver Wolcott	James Wilson,	Lee, Carter Braxton
		George Ross	
Josiah Bartlett,	<b><i>New York:</i></b>	<b><i>Delaware:</i></b>	<b><i>North Carolina:</i></b>
William Whipple,	William Floyd,	George Read,	William Hooper
Matthew Thornton	Philip Livingston,	Caesar Rodney,	Joseph Hewes,
	Francis Lewis,	Thomas McKean	John Penn
<b><i>Massachusetts:</i></b>	Lewis Morris		
Samuel Adams,	<b><i>New Jersey:</i></b>	<b><i>Maryland:</i></b>	<b><i>South Carolina:</i></b>
John Adams,	Richard Stockton,	Samuel Chase,	
John Hancock,	John Witherspoon,	William Paca,	
Robert Treat Paine,	Francis Hopkinson,	Thomas Stone,	Edward
Elbridge Gerry	John Hart,	Charles Carroll of	Rutledge, Thomas
	Abraham Clark	Carrollton	Heyward,
<b><i>Rhode Island:</i></b>			Jr., Thomas Lynch,
Stephen Hopkins,	<b><i>Pennsylvania:</i></b>	<b><i>Virginia:</i></b>	Jr., Arthur
William Ellery	Robert Morris,	George Wythe,	Middleton
	Benjamin Rush,	Richard Henry Lee,	
<b><i>Connecticut:</i></b>	Benjamin Franklin,	Thomas Jefferson,	<b><i>Georgia:</i></b>
Roger Sherman,	John Morton,	Benjamin	Button Gwinnett,
Samuel	George Clymer,	Harrison,	Lyman Hall,
Huntington,	James Smith,	Thomas Nelson, Jr.,	George Walton
William Williams,	George Taylor,	Francis Lightfoot	

**Some of the most important cases decided by the U.S. Supreme Court since 1789.**

Here's a look at some of the most important cases decided by the U.S. Supreme Court since 1789.

**1803 - Marbury v. Madison**

This decision established the system of checks and balances and the power of the Supreme Court within the federal government.

**Situation:** Federalist William Marbury and many others were appointed to positions by outgoing President John Adams. The appointments were not finalized before the new Secretary of State James Madison took office, and Madison chose not to honor them. Marbury and the others invoked an Act of Congress and sued to get their appointed positions.

The Court decided against Marbury 6-0.

**Historical significance:** Chief Justice John Marshall wrote, "An act of the legislature repugnant to the constitution is void." It was the first time the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional a law that had been passed by Congress.

**1857 - Dred Scott v. Sandford**

This decision established that slaves were not citizens of the United States and were not protected under the U.S. Constitution.

**Situation:** Dred Scott and his wife Harriet sued for their freedom in Missouri, a slave state, after having lived with their owner, an Army surgeon, in the free Territory of Wisconsin.

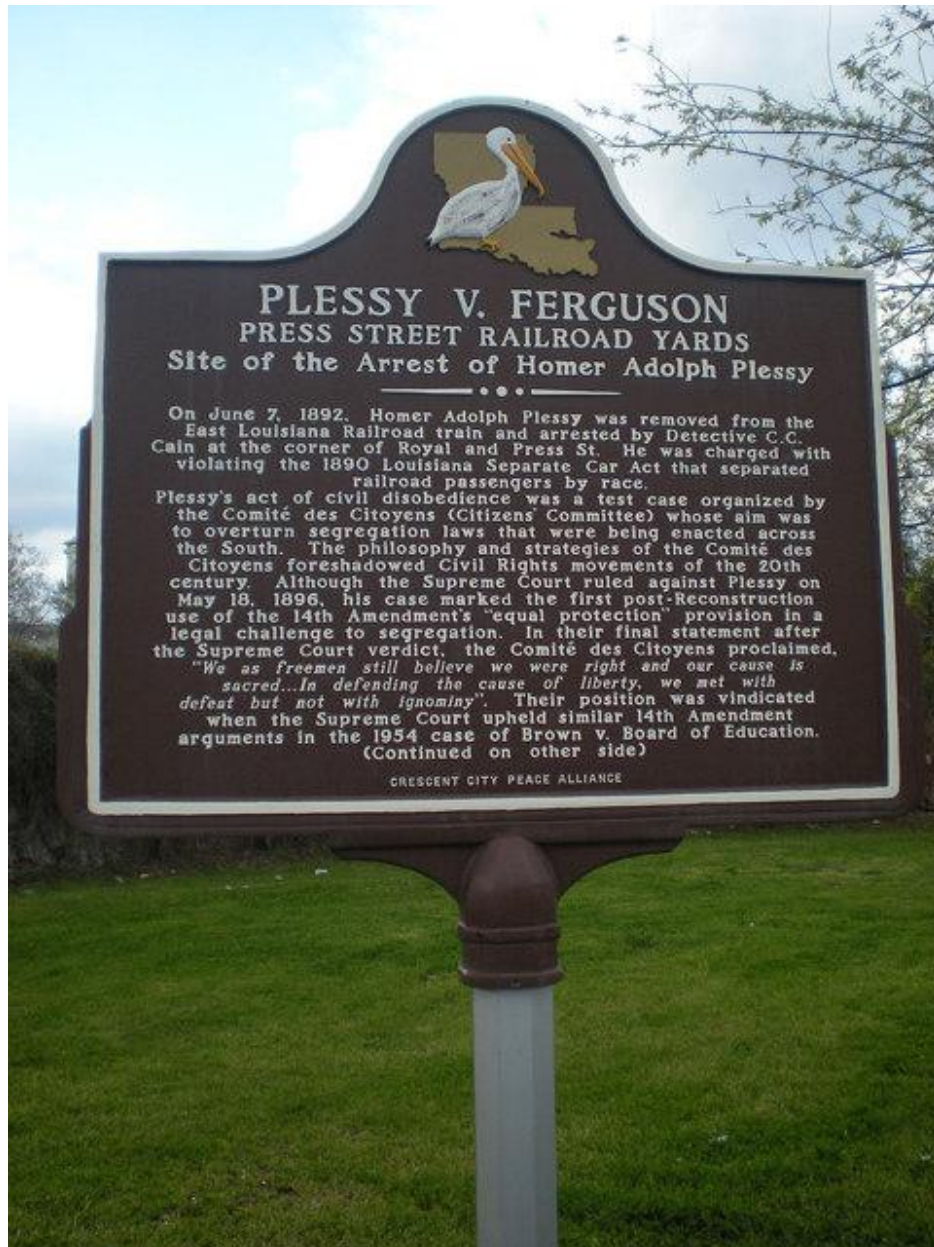
The Court decided against Scott 7-2.

**Historical significance:** Slaves are not citizens and thereby cannot sue in federal court. The decision overturned the Missouri Compromise, where Congress had prohibited slavery in the territories. The Dred Scott decision was overturned later with the adoption of the 13th Amendment, abolishing slavery in 1865 and the 14th Amendment in 1868, granting citizenship to all born in the U.S.



### 1896 - Plessy v. Ferguson

This decision established the rule of segregation, separate but equal.



*A marker in New Orleans stands where Homer Plessy was arrested in 1892. His case ultimately reached the U.S. Supreme Court and resulted in an infamous decision creating the legal doctrine of "separate, but equal." (Wikimedia Commons)*

**Situation:** While attempting to test the constitutionality of the Separate Car Law in Louisiana, Homer Plessy, a man of 1/8 African descent, sat in the train car for whites instead of the blacks-only train car and was arrested.

The Court decided against Plessy 7-1.

**Historical significance:** Justice Henry Billings Brown wrote, "The argument also assumes that social prejudice may be overcome by legislation and that equal rights cannot be secured except by an enforced commingling of the two races... if the civil and political rights of both races be equal, one cannot be inferior to the other civilly or politically. If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane." The Court gave merit to the "Jim Crow" system. Plessy was overturned by the Brown v. Board of Education decision.

#### **1954 - Brown v. Board of Education**

This decision overturned Plessy v. Ferguson and granted equal protection under the law.

**Situation:** Segregation of the public school systems in the United States was addressed when cases in Kansas, South Carolina, Delaware, and Virginia were all decided together under Brown v. Board of Education. Third-grader Linda Brown was denied admission to the white school a few blocks from her home and was forced to attend the blacks-only school a mile away.

The Court decided in favor of Brown unanimously.

**Historical significance:** Racial segregation violates the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment.



*Protesters march against school segregation. (Wikimedia Commons)*

### **1963 - Gideon v. Wainwright**

This decision guarantees the right to counsel.

**Situation:** Clarence Earl Gideon was forced to defend himself when he requested a lawyer from a Florida court and was refused. He was convicted and sentenced to five years for breaking and entering.

The Court decided in favor of Gideon unanimously.

**Historical significance:** Ensures the Sixth Amendment's guarantee to counsel is applicable to the states through the 14th Amendment's due process clause.

### **1964 - New York Times v. Sullivan**

This decision upheld the First Amendment rights of freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

**Situation:** The New York Times and four African-American ministers were sued for libel by Montgomery, Alabama, police commissioner L.B. Sullivan. Sullivan claimed a full-page ad in the Times discussing the arrest of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his efforts toward voter registration and integration in Montgomery were defamatory against Sullivan. Alabama's libel law does not require Sullivan to prove harm since the ad did contain factual errors. He was awarded \$500,000.

The Court decided against Sullivan unanimously.

**Historical significance:** The First Amendment protects free speech and publication of all statements about public officials made without actual malice.

**1966 - Miranda v. Arizona**

The decision established the rights of suspects against self-incrimination.

**Situation:** Ernesto Miranda was convicted of rape and kidnapping after he confessed, while in police custody, without benefit of counsel or knowledge of his constitutional right to remain silent.

The court decided in favor of Miranda 5-4.

**Historical significance:** Upon arrest and/or questioning, all suspects are given some form of their constitutional rights - "You have the right to remain silent. Anything you say can and will be used against you in a court of law. You have the right to an attorney. If you cannot afford an attorney, one will be provided for you. Do you understand the rights I have just read to you? With these rights in mind, do you wish to speak to me?"

**1973 - Roe v. Wade**

This decision the right to privacy extends to include a woman's right to choose pregnancy or abortion.

**Situation:** "Jane Roe" (Norma McCorvey), single and living in Texas, did not want to continue her third pregnancy. Under Texas law, she could not legally obtain an abortion.

The Court decided in favor of Roe 7-2.

**Historical significance:** Abortion is legal in all 50 states. Women have the right to choose between pregnancy and abortion.

**1974 - United States v. Nixon**

This decision established that executive privilege is neither absolute nor unqualified.

**Situation:** President Richard Nixon's taped conversations from 1971 onward were the object of subpoenas by both the special prosecutor and those under indictment in the Watergate scandal. The president claimed immunity from subpoena under executive privilege.

The Court decided against Nixon 8-0.

**Historical significance:** The president is not above the law. After the Court ruled on July 24, 1974, Richard Nixon resigned on August 8.

**1978 - Regents of the U. of California v. Bakke**

This decision ruled that race cannot be the only factor in college admissions.

**Situation:** Allan Bakke had twice applied for and was denied admission to the University of California Medical School at Davis. Bakke was white, male, and 35 years old. He claimed under California's affirmative action plan, minorities with lower grades and test scores were admitted to the medical school when he was not, therefore his denial of admission is based solely on race.

The Court decided in Bakke's favor, 5-4.

**Historical significance:** Affirmative action is approved by the Court, schools may use race as an admissions factor. However the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment works both ways in the case of affirmative action; race cannot be the only factor in the admissions process.

**2012 - Dept. of HHS v. Florida (11-398); Florida v. Dept. of HHS (11-400); Natl. Federation of Business v. Sebelius (11-393) - Healthcare Reform**

**Situation:** The constitutionality of the sweeping health care reform law championed by President Barack Obama.

The Court voted 5-4 in favor of upholding the Affordable Care Act.

**Historical significance:** The ruling upholds the law's central provision - a requirement that all people have health insurance.

**2013 - United States v. Windsor**

This decision ruled that the Defense of Marriage Act, which defined the term "marriage" under federal law as a "legal union between one man and one woman" deprived same-sex couples who are legally married under state laws of their Fifth Amendment rights to equal protection under federal law.

**Situation:** Edith Windsor and Thea Spyer were married in Toronto, Canada in 2007. Their marriage was recognized by New York state, where they resided. Upon Spyer's death in 2009, Windsor was forced to pay \$363,000 in federal taxes, because their marriage was not recognized by federal law.

The court voted 5-4 in favor of Windsor.

**Historical significance:** The court rules that the Defense of Marriage Act is unconstitutional.

**Honorable mentions:**

**1944** - Korematsu v. United States - The Court ruled Executive Order 9066, internment of Japanese citizens during World War II, is legal, 6-3 for the United States.

**1961** - Mapp v. Ohio - "Fruit of the poisonous tree," evidence obtained through an illegal search cannot be used at trial, 6-3 for Mapp.

**1967** - Loving v. Virginia - Prohibition against interracial marriage was ruled unconstitutional, 9-0 for Loving.

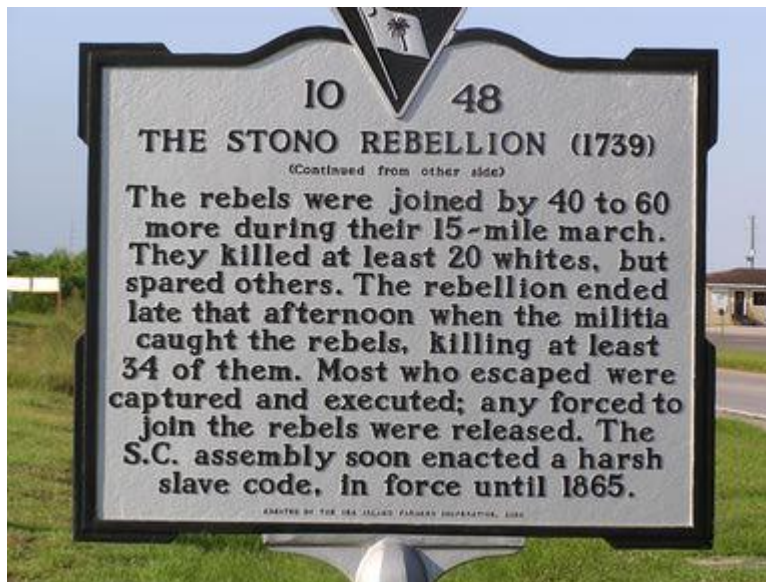
**2008** - District of Columbia v. Heller - The Second Amendment does protect the individual's right to bear arms, 5-4 for Heller.

**2010** - Citizens United v. FEC - The Court rules corporations can contribute to PACs under the First Amendment's right to free speech, 5-4 for Citizens United.

## The Five Greatest Slave Rebellions In The United States

Famous African-American Historian professor at Harvard University Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Donald Yacovone a research manager at Harvard University's W.E.B. Du Bois consider the five greatest slave rebellions in the United States as follows:

**1. Stono Rebellion, 1739.** The Stono Rebellion was the largest slave revolt ever staged in the 13 colonies. On Sunday, Sept. 9, 1739, a day free of labor, about 20 slaves under the leadership of a man named Jemmy provided whites with a painful lesson on the African desire for liberty. Many members of the group were seasoned soldiers, either from the Yamasee War or from their experience in their homes in Angola, where they were captured and sold, and had been trained in the use of weapons.



They gathered at the Stono River and raided a warehouse-like store, Hutchenson's, executing the white owners and placing their victims' heads on the store's front steps for all to see. They moved on to other houses in the area, killing the occupants and burning the structures, marching through the colony toward St. Augustine, Fla., where under Spanish law, they would be free.

As the march proceeded, not all slaves joined the insurrection; in fact, some hung back and actually helped hide their masters. But many were drawn to it, and the insurrectionists soon numbered about 100. They paraded down King's Highway, according to sources, carrying banners and shouting,

“Liberty!” – *lukango* in their native Kikongo, a word that would have expressed the English ideals embodied in liberty and, perhaps, salvation.

The slaves fought off the English for more than a week before the colonists rallied and killed most of the rebels, although some very likely reached Fort Mose. Even after Colonial forces crushed the Stono uprising, outbreaks occurred, including the very next year, when South Carolina executed at least 50 additional rebel slaves.

**2. The New York City Conspiracy of 1741.** With about 1,700 blacks living in a city of some 7,000 whites appearing determined to grind every person of African descent under their heel, some form of revenge seemed inevitable. In early 1741, Fort George in New York burned to the ground. Fires erupted elsewhere in the city — four in one day — and in New Jersey and on Long Island. Several white people claimed they had heard slaves bragging about setting the fires and threatening worse. They concluded that a revolt had been planned by secret black societies and gangs, inspired by a conspiracy of priests and their Catholic minions — white, black, brown, free and slave.

Certainly there were coherent ethnic groups who might have led a resistance, among them the Papa, from the Slave Coast near Whydah (Ouidah) in Benin; the Igbo, from the area around the Niger River; and the Malagasy, from Madagascar. Another identifiable and suspect group was known among the conspirators as the “Cuba People,” “negroes and mulattoes” captured in the early spring of 1740 in Cuba. They had probably been brought to New York from Havana, the greatest port of the Spanish West Indies and home to a free black population. Having been “free men in their own country,” they rightly felt unjustly enslaved in New York.

A 16-year-old Irish indentured servant, under arrest for theft, claimed knowledge of a plot by the city’s slaves — in league with a few whites — to kill white men, seize white women and incinerate the city. In the investigation that followed, 30 black men, two white men and two white women were executed. Seventy people of African descent were exiled to far-flung places like Newfoundland, Madeira, Saint-Domingue (which at independence from the French in 1804 was renamed Haiti) and Curaçao. Before the end of the summer of 1741, 17 blacks would be hanged and 13 more sent to the stake, becoming ghastly illuminations of white fears ignited by the institution of slavery they so zealously defended.

**3. Gabriel’s Conspiracy, 1800.** Born prophetically in 1776 on the Prosser plantation, just six miles north of Richmond, Va., and home (to use the term loosely) to 53 slaves, a slave named Gabriel would hatch a plot, with freedom as its goal, that was emblematic of the era in which he lived.



A skilled blacksmith who stood more than six feet tall and dressed in fine clothes when he was away from the forge, Gabriel cut an imposing figure. But what distinguished him more than his physical bearing was his ability to read and write: Only 5 percent of Southern slaves were literate.

Other slaves looked up to men like Gabriel, and Gabriel himself found inspiration in the French and Saint-Domingue revolutions of 1789. He imbibed the political fervor of the era and concluded, albeit erroneously, that Jeffersonian democratic ideology encompassed the interests of black slaves and white workingmen alike, who, united, could oppose the oppressive Federalist merchant class.

Spurred on by two liberty-minded French soldiers he met in a tavern, Gabriel began to formulate a plan, enlisting his brother Solomon and another servant on the Prosser plantation in his fight for freedom. Word quickly spread to Richmond, other nearby towns and plantations and well beyond to Petersburg and Norfolk, via free and enslaved blacks who worked the waterways. Gabriel took a tremendous risk in letting so many black people learn of his plans: It was necessary as a means of attracting supporters, but it also exposed him to the possibility of betrayal.

Regardless, Gabriel persevered, aiming to rally at least 1,000 slaves to his banner of “Death or Liberty,” an inversion of the famed cry of the slaveholding revolutionary Patrick Henry. With incredible daring — and naïveté — Gabriel determined to march to Richmond, take the armory and hold Gov. James Monroe hostage until the merchant class bent to the rebels’ demands of equal rights for all. He planned his uprising for August 30 and publicized it well.

But on that day, one of the worst thunderstorms in recent memory pummeled Virginia, washing away roads and making travel all but impossible. Undeterred, Gabriel believed that only a small band was necessary to carry out the plan. But many of his followers lost faith, and he was betrayed by a slave named Pharoah, who feared retribution if the plot failed.

The rebellion was barely under way when the state captured Gabriel and several co-conspirators. Twenty-five African Americans, worth about \$9,000 or so — money that cash-strapped Virginia surely thought it could ill afford — were hanged together before Gabriel went to the gallows and was executed, alone.

**4. German Coast Uprising, 1811.** If the Haitian Revolution between 1791 and 1804 — spearheaded by Touissant Louverture and fought and won by black slaves under the leadership of Jean-Jacques Dessalines — struck fear in the hearts of slave owners everywhere, it struck a loud and electrifying chord with African slaves in America.

In 1811, about 40 miles north of New Orleans, Charles Deslondes, a mulatto slave driver on the Andry sugar plantation in the German Coast area of Louisiana, took volatile inspiration from that victory

seven years prior in Haiti. He would go on to lead what the young historian Daniel Rasmussen calls the largest and most sophisticated slave revolt in U.S. history in his book *American Uprising*. (The Stono Rebellion had been the largest slave revolt on these shores to this point, but that occurred in the colonies, before America won its independence from Great Britain.) After communicating his intentions to slaves on the Andry plantation and in nearby areas, on the rainy evening of Jan. 8, Deslondes and about 25 slaves rose up and attacked the plantation's owner and family. They hacked to death one of the owner's sons, but carelessly allowed the master to escape.

That was a tactical mistake to be sure, but Deslondes and his men had wisely chosen the well-outfitted Andry plantation — a warehouse for the local militia — as the place to begin their revolt. They ransacked the stores and seized uniforms, guns and ammunition. As they moved toward New Orleans, intending to capture the city, dozens more men and women joined the cause, singing Creole protest songs while pillaging plantations and murdering whites. Some estimated that the force ultimately swelled to 300, but it's unlikely that Deslondes' army exceeded 124.

The South Carolina congressman, slave master and Indian fighter Wade Hampton was assigned the task of suppressing the insurrection. With a combined force of about 30 regular U.S. Army soldiers and militia, it would take Hampton two days to stop the rebels. They fought a pitched battle that ended only when the slaves ran out of ammunition, about 20 miles from New Orleans. In the slaughter that followed, the slaves' lack of military experience was evident: The whites suffered no casualties, but when the slaves surrendered, about 20 insurgents lay dead, another 50 became prisoners and the remainder fled into the swamps.

By the end of the month, whites had rounded up another 50 insurgents. In short order, about 100 survivors were summarily executed, their heads severed and placed along the road to New Orleans. As one planter noted, they looked "like crows sitting on long poles."

**5. Nat Turner's Rebellion, 1831.** Born on Oct. 2, 1800, in Southampton County, Va., the week before Gabriel was hanged, Nat Turner impressed family and friends with an unusual sense of purpose, even as a child. Driven by prophetic visions and joined by a host of followers — but with no clear goals — on August 22, 1831, Turner and about 70 armed slaves and free blacks set off to slaughter the white neighbors who enslaved them.

In the early hours of the morning, they bludgeoned Turner's master and his master's wife and children with axes. By the end of the next day, the rebels had attacked about 15 homes and killed between 55 and 60 whites as they moved toward the religiously named county seat of Jerusalem, Va. Other slaves who had planned to join the rebellion suddenly turned against it after white militia began to attack

Turner's men, undoubtedly concluding that he was bound to fail. Most of the rebels were captured quickly, but Turner eluded authorities for more than a month.

On Sunday, Oct. 30, a local white man stumbled upon Turner's hideout and seized him. A special Virginia court tried him on Nov. 5 and sentenced him to hang six days later. A barbaric scene followed his execution. Enraged whites took his body, skinned it, distributed parts as souvenirs and rendered his remains into grease. His head was removed and for a time sat in the biology department of Wooster College in Ohio. (In fact, it is likely that pieces of his body — including his skull and a purse made from his skin — have been preserved and are hidden in storage somewhere.)

Of his fellow rebels, 21 went to the gallows, and another 16 were sold away from the region. As the state reacted with harsher laws controlling black people, many free blacks fled Virginia for good. Turner remains a legendary figure, remembered for the bloody path he forged in his personal war against slavery, and for the grisly and garish way he was treated in death.

The heroism and sacrifices of these slave insurrectionists would be a prelude to the noble performance of some 200,000 black men who served so very courageously in the Civil War, the war that finally put an end to the evil institution that in 1860 chained some 3.9 million human beings to perpetual bondage.

## African-American History Timeline

*A chronology of black history from the early slave trade through Affirmative Action*

**1619** The first African slaves arrive in Virginia.



*Photograph of newspaper advertisement  
from the 1780s*

**1746** Lucy Terry, an enslaved person in 1746, becomes the earliest known black American poet when she writes about the last American Indian attack on her village of Deerfield, Massachusetts. Her poem, *Bar's Fight*, is not published until 1855.

**1773** Phillis Wheatley's book *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* is published, making her the first African American to do so.



*An illustration of Phillis Wheatley  
from her book*

**1787** Slavery is made illegal in the Northwest Territory. The U.S Constitution states that Congress may not ban the slave trade until 1808.

**1793** Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin greatly increases the demand for slave labor.

**1793** A federal fugitive slave law is enacted, providing for the return slaves who had escaped and crossed state lines.

<http://www.infoplease.com/spot/bhmtimeline.html>

*Poster advertising \$100  
reward for runaway slaves from 1860*



**1800** Gabriel Prosser, an enslaved African-American blacksmith, organizes a slave revolt intending to march on Richmond, Virginia. The conspiracy is uncovered, and Prosser and a number of the rebels are hanged. Virginia's slave laws are consequently tightened.

**1808** Congress bans the importation of slaves from Africa.

**1820** The Missouri Compromise bans slavery north of the southern boundary of Missouri.

**1822** Denmark Vesey, an enslaved African-American carpenter who had purchased his freedom, plans a slave revolt with the intent to lay siege on Charleston, South Carolina. The plot is discovered, and Vesey and 34 conspirators are hanged.

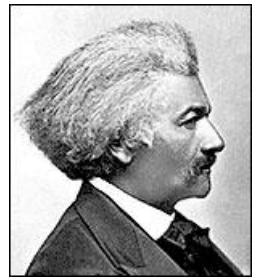
**1831** Nat Turner, an enslaved African-American preacher, leads the most significant slave uprising in American history. He and his band of followers launch a short, bloody, rebellion in Southampton County, Virginia. The militia quells the rebellion, and Turner is eventually hanged. As a consequence, Virginia institutes much stricter slave laws.

William Lloyd Garrison begins publishing the *Liberator*, a weekly paper that advocates the complete abolition of slavery. He becomes one of the most famous figures in the abolitionist movement.

**1839** On July 2, 1839, 53 African slaves on board the slave ship the *Amistad* revolted against their captors, killing all but the ship's navigator, who sailed them to Long Island, N.Y., instead of their intended destination, Africa. Joseph Cinqué was the group's leader. The slaves aboard the ship became unwitting symbols for the antislavery movement in pre-Civil War United States. After several trials in which local and federal courts argued that the slaves were taken as kidnap victims rather than merchandise, the slaves were acquitted. The former slaves aboard the Spanish vessel *Amistad* secured passage home to Africa with the help of sympathetic missionary societies in 1842.

**1846** The Wilmot Proviso, introduced by Democratic representative David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, attempts to ban slavery in territory gained in the Mexican War. The proviso is blocked by Southerners, but continues to enflame the debate over slavery.

Frederick Douglass launches his abolitionist newspaper.



*Frederick*

*Douglass*

**1849**

Harriet Tubman escapes from slavery and becomes one of the most effective and celebrated leaders of the Underground Railroad.



*Harriet Tubman*

**1850** The continuing debate whether territory gained in the Mexican War should be open to slavery is decided in the Compromise of 1850: California is admitted as a free state, Utah and New Mexico territories are left to be decided

by popular sovereignty, and the slave trade in Washington, DC, is prohibited. It also establishes a much stricter fugitive slave law than the original, passed in 1793.

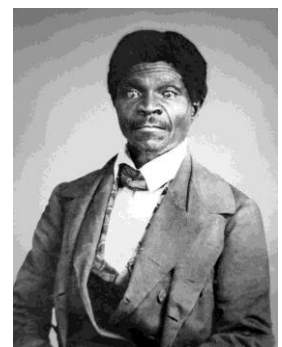
**1852** Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is published. It becomes one of the most influential works to stir anti-slavery sentiments.



*Harriet Beecher Stowe*

**1854** Congress passes the Kansas-Nebraska Act, establishing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. The legislation repeals the Missouri Compromise of 1820 and renews tensions between anti- and proslavery factions.

**1857** The Dred Scott case holds that Congress does not have the right to ban slavery in states and, furthermore, that slaves are not citizens.



*Dred Scott*

**1859** John Brown and 21 followers capture the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Va. (now W. Va.), in an attempt to launch a slave revolt.

**1861** The Confederacy is founded when the deep South secedes, and the Civil War begins.

**1863** President Lincoln issues the Emancipation Proclamation, declaring "that all persons held as slaves" within the Confederate states "are, and henceforward shall be free."



*Slaves at Cumberland Landing, Va.*

**1865** Congress establishes the Freedmen's Bureau to protect the rights of newly emancipated blacks (March).

The Civil War ends (April 9).

Lincoln is assassinated (April 14).

The Ku Klux Klan is formed in Tennessee by ex-Confederates (May).

Slavery in the United States is effectively ended when 250,000 slaves in Texas finally receive the news that the Civil War had ended two months earlier (June 19).

Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution is ratified, prohibiting slavery (Dec. 6).

**1865-1866** Black codes are passed by Southern states, drastically restricting the rights of newly freed slaves.



**1867** A series of Reconstruction acts are passed, carving the former Confederacy into five military districts and guaranteeing the civil rights of freed slaves.

**1868** Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution is ratified, defining citizenship. Individuals born or naturalized in the United States are American citizens, including those born as slaves. This nullifies the Dred Scott Case (1857), which had ruled that blacks were not citizens.

**1869** Howard University's law school becomes the country's first black law school.

**1870** Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution is ratified, giving blacks the right to vote. Hiram Revels of Mississippi is elected the country's first African-American senator. During Reconstruction, sixteen blacks served in Congress and about 600 served in states legislatures.



*Hiram Revels*

**1877** Reconstruction ends in the South. Federal attempts to provide some basic civil rights for African Americans quickly erode.

**1879** The Black Exodus takes place, in which tens of thousands of African Americans migrated from southern states to Kansas.

**1881** Spellman College, the first college for black women in the U.S., is founded by Sophia B. Packard and Harriet E. Giles.

Booker T. Washington founds the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Alabama. The school becomes one of the leading schools of higher learning for African Americans, and stresses the practical application of knowledge. In 1896, George Washington Carver begins teaching there as director of the department of agricultural research, gaining an international reputation for his agricultural advances.

**1882** The American Colonization Society, founded by Presbyterian minister Robert Finley, establishes the colony of Monrovia (which would eventually become the country of Liberia) in western Africa. The society contends that the immigration of blacks to Africa is an answer to the problem of slavery as well as to what it feels is the incompatibility of the races. Over the course of the next forty years, about 12,000 slaves are voluntarily relocated.

**1896** *Plessy v. Ferguson*: This landmark Supreme Court decision holds that racial segregation is constitutional, paving the way for the repressive Jim Crow laws in the South.

**1905** W.E.B. DuBois founds the Niagara movement, a forerunner to the NAACP. The movement is formed in part as a protest to Booker T. Washington's policy of accommodation to white society; the Niagara movement embraces a more radical approach, calling for immediate equality in all areas of American life.



*W.E.B. Du Bois*

**1909** The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is founded in New York by prominent black and white intellectuals and led by W.E.B. Du Bois. For the next half century, it would serve as the country's most influential African-American civil rights organization, dedicated to political equality and social justice. In 1910, its journal, *The Crisis*, was launched. Among its well known leaders were James Weldon Johnson, Ella Baker, Moorfield Storey, Walter White, Roy Wilkins, Benjamin Hooks, Myrlie Evers-Williams, Julian Bond, and Kwesi Mfume.

**1914** Marcus Garvey establishes the Universal Negro Improvement Association, an influential black nationalist organization "to promote the spirit of race pride" and create a sense of worldwide unity among blacks.

**1920s** The Harlem Renaissance flourishes in the 1920s and 1930s. This literary, artistic, and intellectual movement fosters a new black cultural identity.

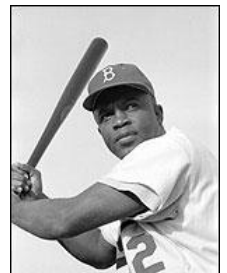
**1931** Nine black youths are indicted in Scottsboro, Ala., on charges of having raped two white women. Although the evidence was slim, the southern jury sentenced them to death. The Supreme Court overturns their convictions twice; each time Alabama retries them, finding them guilty. In a third trial, four of the Scottsboro boys are freed; but five are sentenced to long prison terms.



Scottsboro

Boys

**1947** Jackie Robinson breaks Major League Baseball's color barrier when he is signed to the Brooklyn Dodgers by Branch Rickey.



Jackie Robinson

**1948** Although African Americans had participated in every major U.S. war, it was not until after World War II that President Harry S. Truman issues an executive order integrating the U.S. armed forces.



WWI Black Soldiers

**1952** Malcolm X becomes a minister of the Nation of Islam. Over the next several years his influence increases until he is one of the two most powerful members of the Black Muslims (the other was its leader, Elijah Muhammad). A black nationalist and separatist movement, the Nation of Islam contends that only blacks can resolve the problems of blacks.

**1954** *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kans.* declares that racial segregation in schools is unconstitutional (May 17).



Pictured from left to right: George E.C. Hayes, Thurgood Marshall, and James Nabrit

**1955** A young black boy, Emmett Till, is brutally murdered for allegedly whistling at a white woman in Mississippi. Two white men charged with the crime are acquitted by an all-white jury. They later boast about committing the murder. The public outrage generated by the case helps spur the civil rights movement (Aug.).

Rosa Parks refuses to give up her seat at the front of the "colored section" of a bus to a white passenger (Dec.1). In response to her arrest Montgomery's black community launch a successful year-long bus boycott. Montgomery's buses are desegregated on Dec. 21, 1956.



Rosa Parks

**1957** The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), a civil rights group, is established by Martin Luther King, Charles K. Steele, and Fred L. Shuttlesworth (Jan.-Feb.)

Nine black students are blocked from entering the school on the orders of Governor Orval Faubus. (Sept. 24). Federal troops and the National Guard are called to intervene on behalf of the students, who become known as the "Little Rock Nine." Despite a year of violent threats, several of the "Little Rock Nine" manage to graduate from Central High.



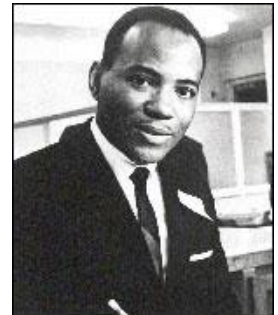
The Little Rock Nine

**1960** Four black students in Greensboro, North Carolina, begin a sit-in at a segregated Woolworth's lunch counter (Feb. 1). Six months later the "Greensboro Four" are served lunch at the same Woolworth's counter. The event triggers many similar nonviolent protests throughout the South.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is founded, providing young blacks with a place in the civil rights movement (April).

**1961** Over the spring and summer, student volunteers begin taking bus trips through the South to test out new laws that prohibit segregation in interstate travel facilities, which includes bus and railway stations. Several of the groups of "freedom riders," as they are called, are attacked by angry mobs along the way. The program, sponsored by The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), involves more than 1,000 volunteers, black and white.

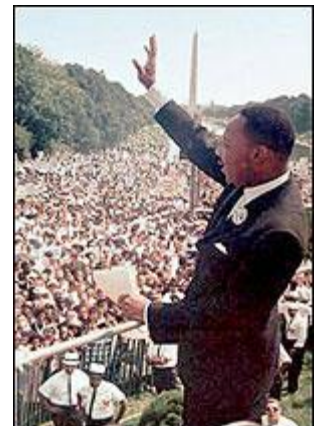
**1962** James Meredith becomes the first black student to enroll at the University of Mississippi (Oct. 1). President Kennedy sends 5,000 federal troops after rioting breaks out.



James Meredith

**1963** Martin Luther King is arrested and jailed during anti-segregation protests in Birmingham, Ala. He writes "Letter from Birmingham Jail," which advocated nonviolent civil disobedience.

The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom is attended by about 250,000 people, the largest demonstration ever seen in the nation's capital. Martin Luther King delivers his famous "I Have a Dream" speech. The march builds momentum for civil rights legislation (Aug. 28).



Despite Governor George Wallace physically blocking their way, Vivian Malone and James Hood register for classes at the University of Alabama.

### *Martin Luther King, Jr*

Four young black girls attending Sunday school are killed when a bomb explodes at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, a popular location for civil rights meetings. Riots erupt in Birmingham, leading to the deaths of two more black youths (Sept. 15).

**1964** President Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act, the most sweeping civil rights legislation since Reconstruction. It prohibits discrimination of all kinds based on race, color, religion, or national origin (July 2).

The bodies of three civil-rights workers are found. Murdered by the KKK, James E. Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner had been working to register black voters in Mississippi (Aug.).

Martin Luther King receives the Nobel Peace Prize. (Oct.)

Sidney Poitier wins the Best Actor Oscar for his role in *Lilies of the Field*. He is the first African American to win the award.

*FBI photographs of  
Andrew Goodman,  
James Earl Chaney,  
and Michael Schwerner*

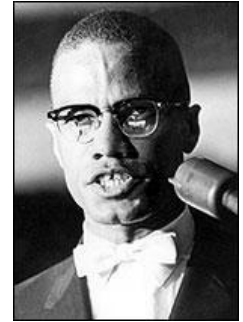


**1965** Malcolm X, black nationalist and founder of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, is assassinated (Feb. 21).

State troopers violently attack peaceful demonstrators led by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., as they try to cross the Pettus Bridge in Selma, Ala. Fifty marchers are hospitalized on "Bloody Sunday," after police use tear gas, whips, and clubs against them. The march is considered the catalyst for pushing through the voting rights act five months later (March 7).

Congress passes the Voting Rights Act of 1965, making it easier for Southern blacks to register to vote. Literacy tests, poll taxes, and other such requirements that were used to restrict black voting are made illegal (Aug. 10).

In six days of rioting in Watts, a black section of Los Angeles, 35 people are killed and 883 injured (Aug. 11-16).



*Malcolm X*

**1966** The Black Panthers are founded by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale (Oct.).

Members of The Black Panthers Party:  
Bobby Seale and Huey Newton



**1967** Stokely Carmichael, a leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), coins the phrase "black power" in a speech in Seattle (April 19).

Major race riots take place in Newark (July 12-16) and Detroit (July 23-30).

President Johnson appoints Thurgood Marshall to the Supreme Court. He becomes the first black Supreme Court Justice.



The Supreme Court rules in *Loving v. Virginia* that prohibiting interracial marriage is unconstitutional. Sixteen states still have anti-miscegenation laws and are forced to revise them.



*Supreme Court Justice  
Thurgood Marshall*

**1968** Martin Luther King, Jr., is assassinated in Memphis, Tenn. (April 4).

President Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act of 1968, prohibiting discrimination in the sale, rental, and financing of housing (April 11).

Shirley Chisholm becomes the first black female U.S. Representative. A Democrat from New York, she was elected in November and served from 1969 to 1983.



Eyewitnesses to the assassination  
of Martin Luther King, Jr.

**1972** The infamous Tuskegee Syphilis experiment ends. Begun in 1932, the U.S. Public Health Service's 40-year experiment on 399 black men in the late stages of syphilis has been described as an

experiment that "used human beings as laboratory animals in a long and inefficient study of how long it takes syphilis to kill someone."

**1978** The Supreme Court case, *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* upheld the constitutionality of affirmative action, but imposed limitations on it to ensure that providing greater opportunities for minorities did not come at the expense of the rights of the majority (June 28).

**1983** Guion Bluford Jr. was the first African-American in space. He took off from Kennedy Space Center in Florida on the space shuttle *Challenger* on August 30.

**1992** The first race riots in decades erupt in south-central Los Angeles after a jury acquits four white police officers for the videotaped beating of African-American Rodney King (April 29).

**2001** Colin Powell becomes the first African American U.S. Secretary of State.



*General Colin Powell*

**2002** Halle Berry becomes the first African American woman to win the Best Actress Oscar. She takes home the statue for her role in *Monster's Ball*. Denzel Washington, the star of *Training Day*, earns the Best Actor award, making it the first year that African-Americans win both the best actor and actress Oscars.

**2003** In *Grutter v. Bollinger*, the most important affirmative action decision since the 1978 *Bakke* case, the Supreme Court (5–4) upholds the University of Michigan Law School's policy, ruling that race can be one of many factors considered by colleges when selecting their students because it furthers "a compelling interest in obtaining the educational benefits that flow from a diverse student body." (June 23).

**2005** Condoleezza Rice becomes the first black female U.S. Secretary of State.



*Dr. Condoleezza Rice*

**2006** In *Parents v. Seattle* and *Meredith v. Jefferson*, affirmative action suffers a setback when a bitterly divided court rules, 5 to 4, that programs in Seattle and Louisville, Ky., which tried to maintain diversity in schools by considering race when assigning students to schools, are unconstitutional.

**2008** Sen. Barack Obama, Democrat from Chicago, becomes the first African American to be nominated as a major party nominee for president.

On November 4, Barack Obama, becomes the first African American to be elected president of the United States, defeating Republican candidate, Sen. John McCain.

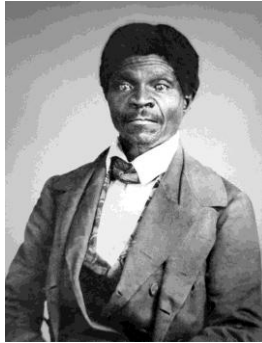
**2009** Barack Obama Democrat from Chicago, becomes the first African-American president and the country's 44th president.



*President of the United States, Barack Obama*

On February 2, the U.S. Senate confirms, with a vote of 75 to 21, Eric H. Holder, Jr., as Attorney General of the United States. Holder is the first African American to serve as Attorney General.

## **Dred Scott's fight for freedom 1846 - 1857**



Dred Scott first went to trial to sue for his freedom in 1847. Ten years later, after a decade of appeals and court reversals, his case was finally brought before the United States Supreme Court. In what is perhaps the most infamous case in its history, the court decided that all people of African ancestry -- slaves as well as those who were free -- could never become citizens of the United States and therefore could not sue in federal court. The court also ruled that the federal government did not have the power to prohibit slavery in its territories. Scott, needless to say, remained a slave.

Born around 1800, Scott migrated westward with his master, Peter Blow. They travelled from Scott's home state of Virginia to Alabama and then, in 1830, to St. Louis, Missouri. Two years later Peter Blow died; Scott was subsequently bought by army surgeon Dr. John Emerson, who later took Scott to the free state of Illinois. In the spring of 1836, after a stay of two and a half years, Emerson moved to a fort in the Wisconsin Territory, taking Scott along. While there, Scott met and married Harriet Robinson, a slave owned by a local justice of the peace. Ownership of Harriet was transferred to Emerson.

Scott's extended stay in Illinois, a free state, gave him the legal standing to make a claim for freedom, as did his extended stay in Wisconsin, where slavery was also prohibited. But Scott never made the claim while living in the free lands -- perhaps because he was unaware of his rights at the time, or perhaps because he was content with his master. After two years, the army transferred Emerson to the south: first to St Louis, then to Louisiana. A little over a year later, a recently-married Emerson summoned his slave couple. Instead of staying in the free territory of Wisconsin, or going to the free state of Illinois, the two travelled over a thousand miles, apparently unaccompanied, down the Mississippi River to meet their master. Only after Emerson's death in 1843, after Emerson's widow

hired Scott out to an army captain, did Scott seek freedom for himself and his wife. First he offered to buy his freedom from Mrs. Emerson -- then living in St. Louis -- for \$300. The offer was refused. Scott then sought freedom through the courts.

Scott went to trial in June of 1847, but lost on a technicality -- he couldn't prove that he and Harriet were owned by Emerson's widow. The following year the Missouri Supreme Court decided that case should be retried. In an 1850 retrial, the the St Louis circuit court ruled that Scott and his family were free. Two years later the Missouri Supreme Court stepped in again, reversing the decision of the lower court. Scott and his lawyers then brought his case to a federal court, the United States Circuit Court in Missouri. In 1854, the Circuit Court upheld the decision of the Missouri Supreme Court. There was now only one other place to go. Scott appealed his case to the United States Supreme Court.

The nine justices of the Supreme Court of 1856 certainly had biases regarding slavery. Seven had been appointed by pro-slavery presidents from the South, and of these, five were from slave-holding families. Still, if the case had gone directly from the state supreme court to the federal supreme court, the federal court probably would have upheld the state's ruling, citing a previously established decision that gave states the authority to determine the status of its inhabitants. But, in his attempt to bring his case to the federal courts, Scott had claimed that he and the case's defendant (Mrs. Emerson's brother, John Sanford, who lived in New York) were citizens from different states. The main issues for the Supreme Court, therefore, were whether it had jurisdiction to try the case and whether Scott was indeed a citizen.

The decision of the court was read in March of 1857. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney -- a staunch supporter of slavery -- wrote the "majority opinion" for the court. It stated that because Scott was black, he was not a citizen and therefore had no right to sue. The decision also declared the Missouri Compromise of 1820, legislation which restricted slavery in certain territories, unconstitutional.

While the decision was well-received by slaveholders in the South, many northerners were outraged. The decision greatly influenced the nomination of Abraham Lincoln to the Republican Party and his subsequent election, which in turn led to the South's secession from the Union.

Peter Blow's sons, childhood friends of Scott, had helped pay Scott's legal fees through the years. After the Supreme Court's decision, the former master's sons purchased Scott and his wife and set them free.

Dred Scott died nine months later.

## **Dred Scott case: the Supreme Court decision 1857**

In March of 1857, the United States Supreme Court, led by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, declared that all blacks -- slaves as well as free -- were not and could never become citizens of the United States. The court also declared the 1820 Missouri Compromise unconstitutional, thus permitting slavery in all of the country's territories.

The case before the court was that of *Dred Scott v. Sanford*. Dred Scott, a slave who had lived in the free state of Illinois and the free territory of Wisconsin before moving back to the slave state of Missouri, had appealed to the Supreme Court in hopes of being granted his freedom.

Taney -- a staunch supporter of slavery and intent on protecting southerners from northern aggression -- wrote in the Court's majority opinion that, because Scott was black, he was not a citizen and therefore had no right to sue. The framers of the Constitution, he wrote, believed that blacks "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit. He was bought and sold and treated as an ordinary article of merchandise and traffic, whenever profit could be made by it."

Referring to the language in the Declaration of Independence that includes the phrase, "all men are created equal," Taney reasoned that "it is too clear for dispute, that the enslaved African race were not intended to be included, and formed no part of the people who framed and adopted this declaration. . . ."

Abolitionists were incensed. Although disappointed, Frederick Douglass, found a bright side to the decision and announced, "My hopes were never brighter than now." For Douglass, the decision would bring slavery to the attention of the nation and was a step toward slavery's ultimate destruction.

## A Brief History of Jim Crow

"I can ride in first-class cars on the railroads and in the streets," wrote journalist T. McCants Stewart. "I can stop in and drink a glass of soda and be more politely waited upon than in some parts of New England." Perhaps Stewart's comments don't seem newsworthy. Consider that he was reporting from South Carolina in 1885 and he was black.

I citizenship and promised them equal protection under the law. Blacks voted, won elected office, and served on juries. However, 10 years later, federal troops withdrew from the South, returning it to local white rule. And now, the Republican Party, champion of Reconstruction and freedmen's rights, had fallen from national power. Would black people's rights survive?

After a few weeks on the road, Stewart decided they would. True, terrorism against blacks — lynching, rape, arson — ran unchecked. True, many rural blacks lived under a sharecropping system little better than slavery. But Stewart noted many signs of change. He saw a black policeman arrest a white criminal. He saw whites casually talk with black strangers. "The morning light is breaking," he told his readers.

Stewart was wrong. Over the next 20 years, blacks would lose almost all they had gained. Worse, denial of their rights and freedoms would be made legal by a series of racist statutes, the Jim Crow laws.

"Jim Crow" was a derisive slang term for a black man. It came to mean my law that established different rules for blacks and whites. First passed in the North long before the Civil War, such laws were based on the theory of white supremacy. In the depression-racked 1890s, racism appealed to whites who feared losing their jobs to blacks. Politicians abused blacks to win the votes of poor white "crackers." Newspapers fed the bias of white readers by playing up (sometimes even making up) black crimes.

In 1890, in spite of its 16 black members, the Louisiana General Assembly passed a law to prevent black and white people from riding together on railroads. *Plessy v. Ferguson*, a case challenging the law, reached the U.S. Supreme Court in 1896. Upholding the law, the court said that public facilities for blacks and whites could be "separate but equal." Soon, throughout the South, they had to be separate.

Two years later, the court seemed to seal the fate of black Americans when it upheld a Mississippi law designed to deny black men the vote. Given the green light, Southern states began to limit the voting right to those who owned property or could read well, to those whose grandfathers had been able to



vote, to those with “good characters,” to those who paid poll taxes. In 1896, Louisiana had 130,334 registered black voters. Eight years later, only 1,342, 1 percent, could pass the state’s new rules.

Jim Crow laws touched every part of life. In South Carolina, black and white textile workers could not work in the same room, enter through the same door, or gaze out of the same window. Many industries wouldn’t hire blacks: Many unions passed rules to exclude them.

In Richmond, one could not live on a street unless most of the residents were people one could marry. (One could not marry someone of a different race.) By 1914, Texas had six entire towns in which blacks could not live. Mobile passed a Jim Crow curfew: Blacks could not leave their homes after 10 p.m. Signs marked “Whites Only” or “Colored” hung over doors, ticket windows, and drinking fountains. Georgia had black and white parks. Oklahoma had black and white phone booths.

Prisons, hospitals, and orphanages were segregated as were schools and colleges. In North Carolina, black and white students had to use separate sets of textbooks. In Florida, the books couldn’t even be stored together. Atlanta courts kept two Bibles: one for black witnesses and one for whites. Virginia told fraternal social groups that black and white members could not address each other as “Brother.”

Though seemingly rigid and complete, Jim Crow laws did not account for all of the discrimination blacks suffered. Unwritten rules barred blacks from white jobs in New York and kept them out of white stores in Los Angeles. Humiliation was about the best treatment blacks who broke such rules could hope for. Groups like the Ku Klux Klan, which revived in 1915, used venom and violence to keep blacks “in their place.”

More than 360,000 black men served in World War I. The country welcomed them home with 25 major race riots, the most serious in Chicago. White mobs lynched veterans in uniform. Black Americans fought back. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, founded in 1909, and the Urban League publicized abuses and worked for redress.

Though they drew support from both races, these groups barely stemmed the tide. The 1920s and 30s produced new Jim Crow laws. By 1944, a Swede visiting the South pronounced segregation so complete that whites did not see blacks except when being served by them.

But World War II changed America, inside and out. The link between white supremacy and Hitler's "master race" could not be ignored. Jim Crow shocked United Nations delegates who reported home about the practice. "Racial discrimination furnishes grist for the Communist propaganda mills," said a government spokesman. "It raises doubt even among friendly nations as to the intensity of our devotion to the democratic faith."

In 1948, President Harry Truman took decisive action to promote racial equality. He urged Congress to abolish the poll tax, enforce fair voting and hiring practices, and end Jim Crow transportation between states. Four Southern states abandoned Truman's Democratic Party in protest. Then, as commander in chief, Truman ordered the complete integration of the armed forces. He did not wipe out racism, but, trained to obey commands, officers complied as best they could. In Korea, during the 1950s, integrated U.S. forces fought their first war.

Back at home, when the new Eisenhower administration downplayed civil rights, federal courts took the lead. In 1950, the NAACP decided to challenge the concept of "separate but equal." Fed up with poor, overcrowded schools, black parents in South Carolina and Virginia sued to get their children into white schools. Both times, federal courts upheld segregation. Both times, the parents appealed. Meanwhile, in a similar case, Delaware's Supreme Court ordered a district to admit black students to white schools until adequate classrooms could be provided for blacks. This time, the district appealed.

The Supreme Court agreed to consider these three cases in combination with one other. In Topeka, Kansas, where schools for blacks and whites were equally good, Oliver Brown wanted his 8-year-old daughter, Linda, to attend a school close to home. State law, however, prevented the white school from accepting Linda because she was black.

On May 17, 1954, at the stroke of noon, the nine Supreme Court Justices announced their unanimous decision in the four cases, now grouped as *Brown v. Board of Education*. They held that racial



Protesters march against school segregation. (Wikimedia Commons)

segregation of children in public schools, even in schools of equal quality, hurt minority children. "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." The practice violated the Constitution's 14th amendment and must stop. To some, the judgment seemed the fruitful end of a long struggle. Actually, the struggle had just begun

## Who was Jim Crow?

The name Jim Crow is often used to describe the segregation laws, rules, and customs which arose after Reconstruction ended in 1877 and continued until the mid-1960s. How did the name become associated with these "Black Codes" which took away many of the rights which had been granted to blacks through the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments?

*"Come listen all you galls and boys,  
I'm going to sing a little song,  
My name is Jim Crow.  
Weel about and turn about and do jis so,  
Eb'ry time I weel about I jump Jim Crow."*

These words are from the song, "Jim Crow," as it appeared in sheet music written by Thomas Dartmouth "Daddy" Rice. Rice, a struggling "actor" (he did short solo skits between play scenes) at the Park Theater in New York, happened upon a black person singing the above song -- some accounts say it was an old black slave who walked with difficulty, others say it was a ragged black stable boy. Whether modeled on an old man or a young boy we will never know, but we know that in 1828 Rice appeared on stage as "Jim Crow" -- an exaggerated, highly stereotypical black character.



Rice, a white man, was one of the first performers to wear blackface makeup -- his skin was darkened with burnt cork. His Jim Crow song-and-dance routine was an astounding success that took him from Louisville to Cincinnati to Pittsburgh to Philadelphia and finally to New York in 1832. He also performed to great acclaim in London and Dublin. By then "Jim Crow" was a stock character in minstrel shows, along with counterparts Jim Dandy and Zip Coon. Rice's subsequent blackface characters were Sambos, Coons, and Dandies. White audiences were receptive to the portrayals of blacks as singing, dancing, grinning fools.

By 1838, the term "Jim Crow" was being used as a collective racial epithet for blacks, not as offensive as nigger, but similar to coon or darkie. The popularity of minstrel shows clearly aided the spread of Jim Crow as a racial slur. This use of the term only lasted half a century. By the end of the 19th century, the words

Jim Crow were less likely to be used to derisively describe blacks; instead, the phrase Jim Crow was being used to describe laws and customs which oppressed blacks.

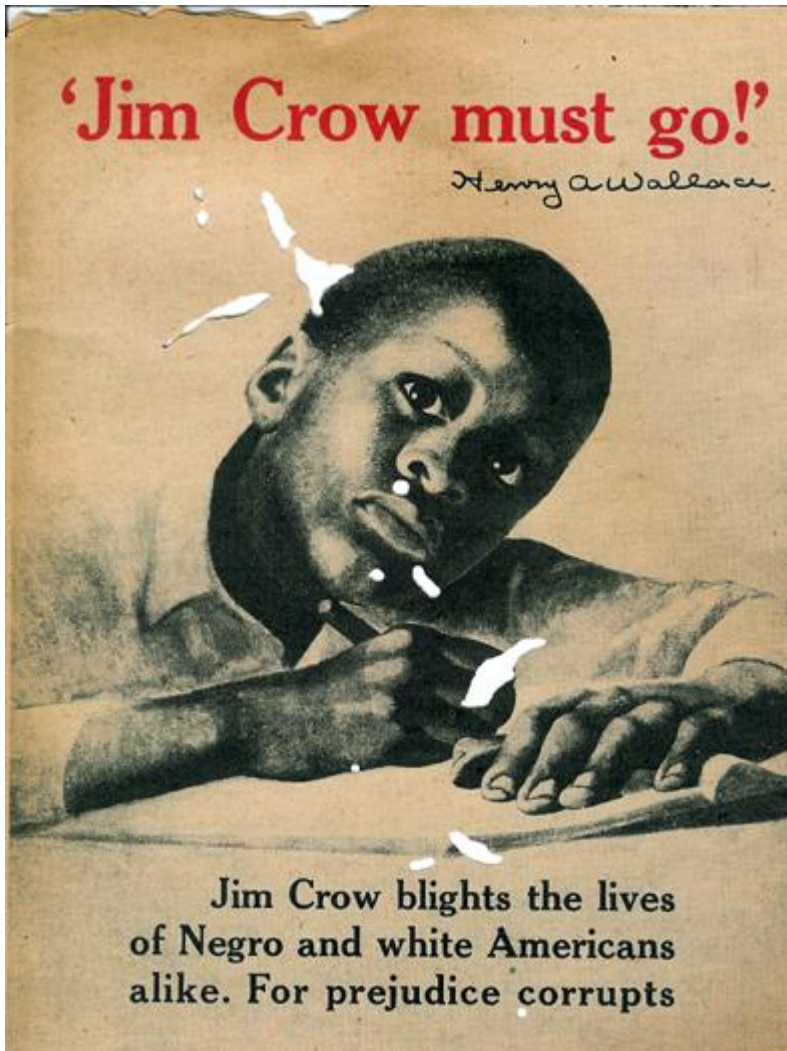
The minstrel show was one of the first native forms of American entertainment, and Rice was rightly regarded as the "Father of American minstrelsy." He had many imitators. In 1843, four white men from New York, billed as the Virginia Minstrels, darkened their faces and imitated the singing and dancing of blacks. They used violins, castanets, banjos, bones, and tambourines. Their routine was successful and they were invited to tour the country. In 1845, the Christy Minstrels (for whom Stephen Foster wrote some of his most popular songs) originated many features of the minstrel show, including the seating of the blackface performers in a semicircle on stage, with the tambourine player (Mr. Tambo) at one end, and the bones player (Mr. Bones) at the other; the singing of songs, called Ethiopian melodies, with harmonized choruses; and the humorous banter of jokes between the end men and the performer in the middle seat (Mr. Interlocutor). These performers were sometimes called Ethiopian Delineators and the shows were popularly referred to as Coon Shows.

Rice and his imitators, by their stereotypical depictions of blacks, helped to popularize the belief that blacks were lazy, stupid, inherently less human, and unworthy of integration. During the years that blacks were being victimized by lynch mobs, they were also victimized by the racist caricatures propagated through novels, sheet music, theatrical plays, and minstrel shows. Ironically, years later when blacks replaced white minstrels, the blacks also "blackened" their faces, thereby pretending to be whites pretending to be blacks. They, too, performed the Coon Shows which dehumanized blacks and helped establish the desirability of racial segregation.

Daddy Rice, the original Jim Crow, became rich and famous because of his skills as a minstrel. However, he lived an extravagant lifestyle, and when he died in New York on September 19, 1860, he was in poverty.

The minstrel shows were popular between 1850 and 1870, but they lost much of their national popularity with the coming of motion pictures and radios. Unfortunately for blacks, the minstrel shows continued in small towns, and caricatured portrayals of blacks found greater expression in motion pictures and radios.

Jim Crow's racist laws enforced between 1876 and 1965 emphasized segregation. They created a "separate but equal" status for African Americans.



## **Racial and Racist Stereotypes in Media**

Not all stereotyping is bad. Stereotyping arises out of the need to generalize in order to make sense out of a very complicated environment. It allows people to easily categorize new things into comfortable spaces already defined by their experiences. This process was described in 1922 by Walter Lippmann, who first coined the term "stereotyping." Lippmann wrote, "the attempt to see all things freshly and in detail, rather than as types and generalities, is exhausting, and ... practically out of the question."

Societies construct hierarchies of value and power so that some races are perceived to be more dominant and others are subordinate. We sort people into different races based on genetic traits: skin color, hair color and texture, and facial features. What these different racial categories mean to us is a product of social collaboration. We are conditioned to believe that people are defined by race and so we draw boundaries between the various races and police those boundaries. Ethnicity, like race, is socially constructed. Ethnicity incorporates race, but expands beyond it to include religion, nationality, heritage, and cultural practices. A single racial group may consist of dozens of ethnicities. As with racial groups, some ethnicities are culturally valued while others are devalued.

Negative stereotyping arises out of an ethnocentric view of the world; one's own group is the center of everything and all other groups are rated in reference to it. Negative stereotypes are prejudicial judgments that assign negative qualities to other groups. Repeated exposure to negative stereotypes causes those who are being stereotyped to internalize the stereotypes. This internalization damages character by causing low self-esteem, low expectations, low motivation, self-doubt, etc. And in turn this damage contributes to a host of bad outcomes, such as high unemployment, poor marriage success, low educational achievement, and criminality. Through this process, negative stereotypes can become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Repetition tends to normalize stereotypes, because repeating stereotypes validates and perpetuates them. Because stereotypes often contain a "kernel of truth" (they may be characteristic of some or many members of a group) they are widely accepted as the truth. However, specific tendencies that may be widespread among a group should never be applied to every member of a group. That's because the stereotypes generalize individuals within a group, emphasizing sameness and ignoring individual variety.

The repetition of racist stereotypes can be used to justify actions that would normally be unimaginable, as was the case with Germany during World War Two. Hitler's anti-Semitism could

never have precipitated the Holocaust if Germans didn't already have a long history of anti-Semitic beliefs and actions. The repetition of negative racial stereotypes about Jews and other so-called "undesirables" ultimately propelled ordinary Germans to systematically kill millions of innocent men, women and children.

Negative racial stereotyping was used by all sides during the Second World War to demonize enemies. Racist stereotypes were also used to justify a steady stream of civilian deaths and crimes against humanity, and the US was certainly no exception. The firebombing of Dresden and Tokyo as well as the atomic bombs that were dropped on Japan caused human slaughter on a massive scale. Ordinary Americans believed these actions were justified because of the negative stereotyping of America's enemies that preceded the war, and the more virulent forms that emerged during the war.

The media uses stereotypes as a shorthand method of defining characters in ways that are easy for people to identify and categorize. What these stereotypes all have in common is that they reduce to a one-sided, superficial and exaggerated depiction the real variety, depth and complexity of a people. The media today is more sensitive to issues of culture and gender than it once was, but the creation and perpetuation of common misconceptions about groups of people continues. Oversimplified and inaccurate portrayals have profoundly affected how we perceive one another, how we relate to one another and how we value ourselves.



## THE CIVIL RIGHTS ERA (1865–1970)

### Summary of Events

#### **A Hundred-Year Struggle**

Black Americans' quest for official racial equality began the moment Reconstruction ended in the late 1870s. Even though Radical Republicans had attempted to aid blacks by passing the Civil Rights Act of 1866, the Ku Klux Klan Act, the Civil Rights Act of 1875, as well as the Fourteenth Amendment and Fifteenth Amendment, racist whites in the South ensured that blacks remained "in their place." The black codes, for example, as well as literacy tests, poll taxes, and widespread violence kept blacks away from voting booths, while conservative Supreme Court decisions ruined any chances for social equality. The Compromise of 1877 effectively doomed southern blacks to a life of sharecropping and second-class citizenship.

#### The Early Movement

In 1896, in the landmark *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision, the conservative Supreme Court upheld the racist policy of segregation by legalizing "separate but equal" facilities for blacks and whites. In doing so, the court condemned blacks to more than a half century more of social inequality. Black leaders nonetheless continued to press for equal rights. For example, Booker T. Washington, president of the all-black Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, encouraged African Americans first to become self-sufficient economically before challenging whites on social issues. W. E. B. Du Bois, a Harvard-educated black historian and sociologist, however, ridiculed Washington's beliefs and argued that blacks should fight for social and economic equality all at once. Du Bois also hoped that blacks would eventually develop a "black consciousness" and cherish their distinctive history and cultural attributes. In 1910, he also helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to challenge the *Plessy* decision in the courtroom.

#### The Great Migration and Harlem Renaissance

Between World War I and World War II, more than a million blacks traveled from the South to the North in search of jobs, in what became known as the Great Migration. The Harlem neighborhood of New York City quickly became the nation's black cultural capital and housed one of the country's largest African-American communities, of approximately 200,000 people. Even though most of Harlem's residents were poor, during the 1920s, a small middle class emerged, consisting of poets, writers, and musicians. Artists and writers such as Langston Hughes and Zora Neale

Hurston championed the “New Negro,” the African American who took pride in his or her cultural heritage. The flowering of black artistic and intellectual culture during this period became known as the Harlem Renaissance.

### Marcus Garvey

Meanwhile, Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican immigrant and businessman, worked hard to promote black pride and nationalism. He founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association, which emphasized economic self-sufficiency as a means to overcome white dominance. He also encouraged blacks to leave the United States and resettle in Africa. Although most of Garvey’s business ventures failed and he was eventually deported back to Jamaica, his message influenced many future civil rights leaders.

### World War II

More than a million black men served in the Allied forces during World War II, mostly in segregated noncombat units. At home, black leaders continued to push for racial equality and campaigned for the “Double V”—victory both at home and abroad. In 1941, A. Philip Randolph, the president of the National Negro Congress, threatened to lead thousands of black protesters in a march on Washington to demand the passage of more civil rights legislation. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, afraid that the march might disrupt the war effort, compromised by signing Executive Order 8802 to desegregate war factories and create the Fair Employment Practices Committee. As a result, more than 200,000 blacks were able to find top jobs in defense-related industries. After the war, President Harry S. Truman created the President’s Committee on Civil Rights and desegregated the military with Executive Order 9811.

### Brown v. Board of Education

In 1954, after decades of legal work, Thurgood Marshall, the NAACP’s chief counsel, finally managed to overturn the “separate but equal” doctrine (established in *Plessy v. Ferguson*) in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*. Sympathetic Supreme Court chief justice Earl Warren convinced his fellow justices to declare unanimously that segregated public schools were inherently unequal. The *Brown* decision outraged conservative southern politicians in Congress, who protested it by drafting the Southern Manifesto.

### The Little Rock Crisis

In 1957, Arkansas governor Orval Faubus chose to ignore a federal court order to desegregate the state’s public schools and used the National Guard to prevent nine black students from entering Central High School in Little Rock. Although President Dwight D. Eisenhower personally

opposed the *Brown* decision, he sent federal troops to integrate the high school by force and uphold federal supremacy over the state.

### Martin Luther King Jr.

In 1955, the modern civil rights movement was effectively launched with the arrest of young seamstress Rosa Parks in Montgomery, Alabama. Police arrested Parks because she refused to give up her seat to a white man on a Montgomery city bus. After the arrest, blacks throughout the city joined together in a massive rally outside one of the city's Baptist churches to hear the young preacher Martin Luther King Jr. speak out against segregation, Parks's arrest, and the Jim Crow law she had violated. Blacks also organized the Montgomery bus boycott, boycotting city transportation for nearly a year before the Supreme Court finally struck down the city's segregated bus seating as unconstitutional.

In 1957, King formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to rally support from southern churches for the civil rights movement. Inspired by Indian political activist Mohandas Gandhi, King hoped the SCLC would lead a large-scale protest movement based on "love and nonviolence."

### The Student Movement

Although the SCLC failed to initiate mass protest, a new student group called the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) accomplished much. The SNCC was launched in 1960 after the highly successful student-led Greensboro sit-in in North Carolina and went on to coordinate peaceful student protests against segregation throughout the South. The students also helped the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) organize Freedom Rides throughout the Deep South. In 1961, groups of both black and white Freedom Riders boarded interstate buses, hoping to provoke violence, get the attention of the federal government, and win the sympathy of more moderate whites. The plan worked: angry white mobs attacked Freedom Riders in Alabama so many times that several riders nearly died. Still, many of the students believed that the media attention they had received had been worth the price.

### The Birmingham Protest

The overwhelming public support from the North for Freedom Riders prompted Martin Luther King Jr. to launch more peaceful protests, hoping to anger die-hard segregationists. In 1963, King focused all of his energy on organizing a massive protest in the heavily segregated city of Birmingham, Alabama. Thousands of blacks participated in the rally, including several hundred local high school students who marched in their own "children's crusade." Birmingham's commissioner, "Bull" Connor, cracked down on the protesters using clubs, vicious police dogs, and water cannons. King was arrested along with

hundreds of others and used his time in jail to write his famous "Letter from Birmingham Jail" to explain the civil rights movement to critics.

### Kennedy and the March on Washington

The violence during the Birmingham protest shocked northerners even more than the violence of the Freedom Rides and convinced President John F. Kennedy to risk his own political future and fully endorse the civil rights movement. Meanwhile, in 1963, King and the SCLC joined forces with CORE, the NAACP, and the SNCC in organizing the March on Washington in August. More than 200,000 blacks and whites participated in the march, one of the largest political rallies in American history. The highlight of the rally was King's sermon "I have a dream" speech.

### Federal Help

Kennedy was assassinated in November 1963, but the new president, Lyndon B. Johnson, honored his predecessor's commitment to the civil rights movement. Johnson actually had opposed the movement while serving as Senate majority leader but changed his mind because he wanted to establish himself as the leader of a united Democratic Party. He therefore pressured Congress to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964, an even tougher bill than Kennedy had hoped would pass. The act outlawed discrimination and segregation based on race, nationality, or gender.

The same year, the Twenty-Fourth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was ratified, outlawing poll taxes as a prerequisite for voting in federal elections. Furthermore, SNCC activists traveled to Mississippi that summer on the Freedom Summer campaign to register more black voters, again hoping their actions would provoke segregationist whites.

### The Voting Rights Act

Violent opposition to the Freedom Summer campaign convinced Martin Luther King Jr. that more attention needed to be drawn to the fact that few southern blacks were actually able to exercise their right to vote. Springing into action, King traveled to the small town of Selma, Alabama, in 1965, to support a local protest against racial restrictions at the polls. There, he joined thousands of blacks peacefully trying to register to vote. Police, however, attacked the protesters on "Bloody Sunday," killing several activists in the most violent crackdown yet. The same year, an outraged Lyndon B. Johnson and Congress responded by passing the Voting Rights Act to safeguard blacks' right to vote. The act outlawed literacy tests and sent thousands of federal voting officials into the South to supervise black voter registration.

### Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam

However, a growing number of black activists had begun to oppose integration altogether by the mid-1960s. Malcolm X of the Nation of Islam was the most vocal critic of King's nonviolent tactics. Instead, Malcolm X preached black self-sufficiency, just as Marcus Garvey had four decades earlier. He also advocated armed self-defense against white oppression, arguing that bloodshed was necessary for revolution. However, Malcolm X left the Nation of Islam after numerous scandals hit the organization, and he traveled to Mecca, Saudi Arabia, on a religious pilgrimage in 1964. In the course of his journey, he encountered Muslims of all nationalities who challenged his belief system and forced him to rethink his opinions regarding race relations. When Malcolm X returned to the United States, he joined forces with the SNCC in the nonviolent fight against segregation and racism. However, he was assassinated in early 1965.

### Black Power

Despite Malcolm X's untimely death, his original message of race separation (instead of integration) lived on and inspired many students in the SNCC, who also expressed dissatisfaction with the gains made through peaceful protests. Although the Civil Rights Act and Voting Rights Act were landmark laws for the civil rights movement, young activists such as Stokely Carmichael felt they had not done enough to correct centuries of inequality. In 1967, Carmichael argued in his book *Black Power* that blacks should take pride in their heritage and culture and should not have anything to do with whites in the United States or anywhere else. In fact, Carmichael even promoted one plan to split the United States into separate black and white countries.

### The Black Panthers

Frustrated activists in Oakland, California, responded to Stokely Carmichael's "black power" theories and formed the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. The Black Panthers, armed and clad in black, operated basic social services in the urban ghettos, patrolled the streets, and called for an armed revolution. Although the Black Panthers did provide valuable support to the community, their embrace of violence prompted a massive government crackdown on the group, leading to its dissolution in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

### The Collapse of the Movement

Black revolutionaries such as Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and the Black Panthers, along with the scores of race riots that rocked America between 1965 and 1970, frightened many white Americans and alienated many moderates who had supported peaceful protest. President Lyndon B. Johnson had also become suspicious of civil rights activists and ordered the FBI to begin investigations of

Malcolm X, the Nation of Islam, and even Martin Luther King Jr. himself for their alleged ties to Communist organizations. Then, in 1968, a young white man named James Earl Ray shot and killed King as he addressed a crowd gathered in Memphis, Tennessee. King's death, combined with the increasing amount of violence, effectively ended the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

## **Ten Important Supreme Court Decisions in Black History**

### From Dred Scott to Affirmative Action

#### ***Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857)**

Decreed a slave was his master's property and African Americans were not citizens; struck down the Missouri Compromise as unconstitutional.

#### **Civil Rights Cases (1883)**

A number of cases are addressed under this Supreme court decision. Decided that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 (the last federal civil rights legislation until the Civil Rights Act of 1957) was unconstitutional. Allowed private sector segregation.

#### ***Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896)**

The Court stated that segregation was legal and constitutional as long as "facilities were equal"—the famous "separate but equal" segregation policy.

#### ***Powell v. Alabama* (1932)**

The Supreme Court overturned the "Scottsboro Boys" convictions and guaranteed counsel in state and federal courts.

#### ***Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948)**

The justices ruled that a court may not constitutionally enforce a "restrictive covenant" which prevents people of certain race from owning or occupying property.

***Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1954)***

Reversed *Plessy v. Ferguson* "separate but equal" ruling. "[S]egregation [in public education] is a denial of the equal protection of the laws."

***Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc. v. United States (1964)***

This case challenged the constitutionality of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The court ruled that the motel had no right "to select its guests as it sees fit, free from governmental regulation."

***Loving v. Virginia (1967)***

This decision ruled that the prohibition on interracial marriage was unconstitutional. Sixteen states that still banned interracial marriage at the time were forced to revise their laws.

***Regents of the University of California v. Bakke (1978)***

The decision stated that affirmative action was unfair if it lead to reverse discrimination.

***Grutter v. Bollinger (2003)***

The decision upheld affirmative action's constitutionality in education, as long it employed a "highly individualized, holistic review of each applicant's file" and did not consider race as a factor in a "mechanical way."



## **Civil Rights Act of 1964**

*President Lyndon B. Johnson signed this sweeping civil rights legislation on July 2, 1964. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited segregation in public places, terminating Jim Crow laws in the South. It also outlawed segregation in businesses, required the integration of schools, eliminated unequal voter registration requirements, and prohibited employment discrimination. The law was a significant step toward equal treatment of both blacks and women in the United States.*

*President John F. Kennedy called for passage of a civil rights law in a speech on June 11, 1963. He wanted legislation giving all Americans the right to be served in facilities which are open to the public -- hotels, restaurants, theaters, retail stores, and similar establishments. He also wanted greater protection of voting rights. After his assassination in November 1963, President Johnson took up the task, encouraging Congress to pass the civil rights bill that was on the table at the time of Kennedys death. It met significant resistance, including a 57-day filibuster in the Senate. Both houses of Congress eventually agreed to support an amended version of the bill, which gave the government less power to regulate private businesses.*

*As initially passed, the Civil Rights Act included few provisions for enforcing the law. The act grew teeth in succeeding years, as federal agencies, such as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, were formed to receive, investigate, and remedy complaints. However, enforcement of the Civil Rights Act remains an issue to this day.*

## **Civil Rights Act of 1964**

### **An Act**

To enforce the constitutional right to vote, to confer jurisdiction upon the district courts of the United States to provide injunctive relief against discrimination in public accommodations, to authorize the Attorney General to institute suits to protect constitutional rights in public facilities and public education, to extend the Commission on Civil Rights, to prevent discrimination in federally assisted programs, to establish a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Civil Rights Act of 1964".

## **TITLE I--VOTING RIGHTS**

SEC. 101. Section 2004 of the Revised Statutes (42 U.S.C. 1971), as amended by section 131 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (71 Stat. 637), and as further amended by section 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (74 Stat. 90), is further amended as follows:

(a) Insert "1" after "(a)" in subsection (a) and add at the end of subsection (a) the following new paragraphs:

"(2) No person acting under color of law shall--

"(A) in determining whether any individual is qualified under State law or laws to vote in any Federal election, apply any standard, practice, or procedure different from the standards, practices, or procedures applied under such law or laws to other individuals within the same county, parish, or similar political subdivision who have been found by State officials to be qualified to vote;

"(B) deny the right of any individual to vote in any Federal election because of an error or omission on any record or paper relating to any application, registration, or other act requisite to voting, if such error or omission is not material in determining whether such individual is qualified under State law to vote in such election; or

"(C) employ any literacy test as a qualification for voting in any Federal election unless (i) such test is administered to each individual and is conducted wholly in writing, and (ii) a certified copy of the test and of the answers given by the individual is furnished to him within twenty-five days of the submission of his request made within the period of time during which records and papers are required to be retained and preserved pursuant to title III of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (42 U.S.C. 1974--74e; 74 Stat. 88): Provided, however, That the Attorney General may enter into agreements with appropriate State or local authorities that preparation, conduct, and maintenance of such tests in accordance with the provisions of applicable State or local law, including such special provisions as are necessary in the preparation, conduct, and maintenance of such tests for persons who are blind or otherwise physically handicapped, meet the purposes of this subparagraph and constitute compliance therewith.

"(3) For purposes of this subsection--

"(A) the term 'vote' shall have the same meaning as in subsection (e) of this section;

"(B) the phrase 'literacy test' includes any test of the ability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter."

(b) Insert immediately following the period at the end of the first sentence of subsection (c) the following new sentence: "If in any such proceeding literacy is a relevant fact there shall be a rebuttable presumption that any person who has not been adjudged an incompetent and who has completed the sixth grade in a public school in, or a private school accredited by, any State or territory, the District of Columbia, or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico where instruction is carried on predominantly in the English language, possesses sufficient literacy, comprehension, and intelligence to vote in any Federal election."

(c) Add the following subsection "(f)" and designate the present subsection "(f)" as subsection "(g)":  
"(f) When used in subsection (a) or (c) of this section, the words 'Federal election' shall mean any general, special, or primary election held solely or in part for the purpose of electing or selecting any candidate for the office of President, Vice President, presidential elector, Member of the Senate, or Member of the House of Representatives."

(d) Add the following subsection "(h)":

"(h) In any proceeding instituted by the United States in any district court of the United States under this section in which the Attorney General requests a finding of a pattern or practice of discrimination pursuant to subsection (e) of this section the Attorney General, at the time he files the complaint, or any defendant in the proceeding, within twenty days after service upon him of the complaint, may file with the clerk of such court a request that a court of three judges be convened to hear and determine the entire case. A copy of the request for a three-judge court shall be immediately furnished by such clerk to the chief judge of the circuit (or in his absence, the presiding circuit judge of the circuit) in which the case is pending. Upon receipt of the copy of such request it shall be the duty of the chief justice of the circuit or the presiding circuit judge, as the case may be, to designate immediately three judges in such circuit, of whom at least one shall be a circuit judge and another of whom shall be a district judge of the court in which the proceeding was instituted, to hear and determine such case, and it shall be the duty of the judges so designated to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date, to participate in the hearing and determination thereof, and to cause the case to be in every way expedited.

An appeal from the final judgment of such court will lie to the Supreme Court.

"In any proceeding brought under subsection (c) of this section to enforce subsection (b) of this section, or in the event neither the Attorney General nor any defendant files a request for a three-judge

court in any proceeding authorized by this subsection, it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the district (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) in which the case is pending immediately to designate a judge in such district to hear and determine the case. In the event that no judge in the district is available to hear and determine the case, the chief judge of the district, or the acting chief judge, as the case may be, shall certify this fact to the chief judge of the circuit (or, in his absence, the acting chief judge) who shall then designate a district or circuit judge of the circuit to hear and determine the case.

"It shall be the duty of the judge designated pursuant to this section to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date and to cause the case to be in every way expedited."

## **TITLE II--INJUNCTIVE RELIEF AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN PLACES OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION**

SEC. 201. (a) All persons shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, and privileges, advantages, and accommodations of any place of public accommodation, as defined in this section, without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin.

(b) Each of the following establishments which serves the public is a place of public accommodation within the meaning of this title if its operations affect commerce, or if discrimination or segregation by it is supported by state action:

(1) any inn, hotel, motel, or other establishment which provides lodging to transient guests, other than an establishment located within a building which contains not more than five rooms for rent or hire and which is actually occupied by the proprietor of such establishment as his residence;

(2) any restaurant, cafeteria, lunchroom, lunch counter, soda fountain, or other facility principally engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises, including, but not limited to, any such facility located on the

premises of any retail establishment; or any gasoline station;

(3) any motion picture house, theater, concert hall, sports arena, stadium or other place of exhibition or entertainment; and

(4) any establishment (A)(i) which is physically located within the premises of any establishment otherwise covered by this subsection, or (ii) within the premises of which is physically located any

such covered establishment, and (B) which holds itself out as serving patrons of such covered establishment.

(c) The operations of an establishment affect commerce within the meaning of this title if (1) it is one of the establishments described in paragraph (1) of subsection (b); (2) in the case of an establishment described in paragraph (2) of subsection (b), it serves or offers to serve interstate travelers or a substantial portion of the food which it serves, or gasoline or other products which it sells, has moved in commerce; (3) in the case of an establishment described in paragraph (3) of subsection (b), it customarily presents films, performances, athletic teams, exhibitions, or other sources of entertainment which move in commerce; and (4) in the case of an establishment described in paragraph (4) of subsection (b), it is physically located within the premises of, or there is physically located within its premises, an establishment the operations of which affect commerce within the meaning of this subsection. For purposes of this section, "commerce" means travel, trade, traffic, commerce, transportation, or communication among the several States, or between the District of Columbia and any State, or between any foreign country or any territory or possession and any State or the District of Columbia, or between points in the same State but through any other State or the District of Columbia or a foreign country.

(d) Discrimination or segregation by an establishment is supported by State action within the meaning of this title if such discrimination or segregation (1) is carried on under color of any law, statute, ordinance, or regulation; or (2) is carried on under color of any custom or usage required or enforced by officials of the State or political subdivision thereof; or (3) is required by action of the State or political subdivision thereof.

(e) The provisions of this title shall not apply to a private club or other establishment not in fact open to the public, except to the extent that the facilities of such establishment are made available to the customers or patrons of an establishment within the scope of subsection (b).

SEC. 202. All persons shall be entitled to be free, at any establishment or place, from discrimination or segregation of any kind on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin, if such discrimination or segregation is or purports to be required by any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, rule, or order of a State or any agency or political subdivision thereof.

SEC. 203. No person shall (a) withhold, deny, or attempt to withhold or deny, or deprive or attempt to deprive, any person of any right or privilege secured by section 201 or 202, or (b) intimidate, threaten, or coerce, or attempt to intimidate, threaten, or coerce any person with the purpose of interfering with any right or privilege secured by section 201 or 202, or (c) punish or attempt to punish any person for exercising or attempting to exercise any right or privilege secured by section 201 or 202.

SEC. 204. (a) Whenever any person has engaged or there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person is about to engage in any act or practice prohibited by section 203, a civil action for preventive relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order, may be instituted by the person aggrieved and, upon timely application, the court may, in its discretion, permit the Attorney General to intervene in such civil action if he certifies that the case is of general public importance. Upon application by the complainant and in such circumstances as the court may deem just, the court may appoint an attorney for such complainant and may authorize the commencement of the civil action without the payment of fees, costs, or security.

(b) In any action commenced pursuant to this title, the court, in its discretion, may allow the prevailing party, other than the United States, a reasonable attorney's fee as part of the costs, and the United States shall be liable for costs the same as a private person.

(c) In the case of an alleged act or practice prohibited by this title which occurs in a State, or political subdivision of a State, which has a State or local law prohibiting such act or practice and establishing or authorizing a State or local authority to grant or seek relief from such practice or to institute criminal proceedings with respect thereto upon receiving notice thereof, no civil action may be brought under subsection (a) before the expiration of thirty days after written notice of such alleged act or practice has been given to the appropriate State or local authority by registered mail or in person, provided that the court may stay proceedings in such civil action pending the termination of State or local enforcement proceedings.

(d) In the case of an alleged act or practice prohibited by this title which occurs in a State, or political subdivision of a State, which has no State or local law prohibiting such act or practice, a civil action may be brought under subsection (a): Provided, That the court may refer the matter to the Community Relations Service established by title X of this Act for as long as the court believes there is a reasonable possibility of obtaining voluntary compliance, but for not more than sixty days: Provided further, That upon expiration of such sixty-day period, the court may extend such period for an additional period, not to exceed a cumulative total of one hundred and twenty days, if it believes there then exists a reasonable possibility of securing voluntary compliance.

SEC. 205. The Service is authorized to make a full investigation of any complaint referred to it by the court under section 204(d) and may hold such hearings with respect thereto as may be necessary. The Service shall conduct any hearings with respect to any such complaint in executive session, and shall not release any testimony given therein except by agreement of all parties involved in the complaint with the permission of the court, and the Service shall endeavor to bring about a voluntary settlement between the parties.

SEC. 206. (a) Whenever the Attorney General has reasonable cause to believe that any person or group of persons is engaged in a pattern or practice of resistance to the full enjoyment of any of the rights secured by this title, and that the pattern or practice is of such a nature and is intended to deny the full exercise of the rights herein described, the Attorney General may bring a civil action in the appropriate district court of the United States by filing with it a complaint (1) signed by him (or in his absence the Acting Attorney General), (2) setting forth facts pertaining to such pattern or practice, and (3) requesting such preventive relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order or other order against the person or persons responsible for such pattern or practice, as he deems necessary to insure the full enjoyment of the rights herein described.

(b) In any such proceeding the Attorney General may file with the clerk of such court a request that a court of three judges be convened to hear and determine the case. Such request by the Attorney General shall be accompanied by a certificate that, in his opinion, the case is of general public importance. A copy of the certificate and request for a three-judge court shall be immediately furnished by such clerk to the chief judge of the circuit (or in his absence, the presiding circuit judge of the circuit) in which the case is pending. Upon receipt of the copy of such request it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the circuit or the presiding circuit judge, as the case may be, to designate immediately three judges in such circuit, of whom at least one shall be a circuit judge and another of whom shall be a district judge of the court in which the proceeding was instituted, to hear and determine such case, and it shall be the duty of the judges so designated to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date, to participate in the hearing and determination thereof, and to cause the case to be in every way expedited. An appeal from the final judgment of such court will lie to the Supreme Court.

In the event the Attorney General fails to file such a request in any such proceeding, it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the district (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) in which the case is pending immediately to designate a judge in such district to hear and determine the case. In the event that no judge in the district is available to hear and determine the case, the chief judge of the district, or the acting chief judge, as the case may be, shall certify this fact to the chief judge of the circuit (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) who shall then designate a district or circuit judge of the circuit to hear and determine the case.

It shall be the duty of the judge designated pursuant to this section to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date and to cause the case to be in every way expedited.

SEC. 207. (a) The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this title and shall exercise the same without regard to whether the aggrieved party shall have exhausted any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law.

(b) The remedies provided in this title shall be the exclusive means of enforcing the rights based on this title, but nothing in this title shall preclude any individual or any State or local agency from asserting any right based on any other Federal or State law not inconsistent with this title, including any statute or ordinance requiring nondiscrimination in public establishments or accommodations, or from pursuing any remedy, civil or criminal, which may be available for the vindication or enforcement of such right.

### **TITLE III--DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC FACILITIES**

SEC. 301. (a) Whenever the Attorney General receives a complaint in writing signed by an individual to the effect that he is being deprived of or threatened with the loss of his right to the equal protection of the laws, on account of his race, color, religion, or national origin, by being denied equal utilization of any public facility which is owned, operated, or managed by or on behalf of any State or subdivision thereof, other than a public school or public college as defined in section 401 of title IV hereof, and the Attorney General believes the complaint is meritorious and certifies that the signer or signers of such complaint are unable, in his judgment, to initiate and maintain appropriate legal proceedings for relief and that the institution of an action will materially further the orderly progress of desegregation in public facilities, the Attorney General is authorized to institute for or in the name of the United States a civil action in any appropriate district court of the United States against such parties and for such relief as may be appropriate, and such court shall have and shall exercise jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section. The Attorney General may implead as defendants such additional parties as are or become necessary to the grant of effective relief hereunder.

(b) The Attorney General may deem a person or persons unable to initiate and maintain appropriate legal proceedings within the meaning of subsection

(a) of this section when such person or persons are unable, either directly or through other interested persons or organizations, to bear the expense of the litigation or to obtain effective legal representation; or whenever he is satisfied that the institution of such litigation would jeopardize the personal safety, employment, or economic standing of such person or persons, their families, or their property.

SEC. 302. In any action or proceeding under this title the United States shall be liable for costs, including a reasonable attorney's fee, the same as a private person.



SEC. 303. Nothing in this title shall affect adversely the right of any person to sue for or obtain relief in any court against discrimination in any facility covered by this title.

SEC. 304. A complaint as used in this title is a writing or document within the meaning of section 1001, title 18, United States Code.

#### **TITLE IV--DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION**

##### **DEFINITIONS**

SEC. 401. As used in this title--

(a) "Commissioner" means the Commissioner of Education.

(b) "Desegregation" means the assignment of students to public schools and within such schools without regard to their race, color, religion, or national origin, but "desegregation" shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance.

(c) "Public school" means any elementary or secondary educational institution, and "public college" means any institution of higher education or any technical or vocational school above the secondary school level, provided that such public school or public college is operated by a State, subdivision of a State, or governmental agency within a State, or operated wholly or predominantly from or through the use of governmental funds or property, or funds or property derived from a governmental source.

(d) "School board" means any agency or agencies which administer a system of one or more public schools and any other agency which is responsible for the assignment of students to or within such system.

##### **SURVEY AND REPORT OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES**

SEC. 402. The Commissioner shall conduct a survey and make a report to the President and the Congress, within two years of the enactment of this title, concerning the lack of availability of equal educational opportunities for individuals by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin in public educational institutions at all levels in the United States, its territories and possessions, and the District of Columbia.

## TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 403. The Commissioner is authorized, upon the application of any school board, State, municipality, school district, or other governmental unit legally responsible for operating a public school or schools, to render technical assistance to such applicant in the preparation, adoption, and implementation of plans for the desegregation of public schools. Such technical assistance may, among other activities, include making available to such agencies information regarding effective methods of coping with special educational problems occasioned by desegregation, and making available to such agencies personnel of the Office of Education or other persons specially equipped to advise and assist them in coping with such problems.

## TRAINING INSTITUTES

SEC. 404. The Commissioner is authorized to arrange, through grants or contracts, with institutions of higher education for the operation of short-term or regular session institutes for special training designed to improve the ability of teachers, supervisors, counselors, and other elementary or secondary school personnel to deal effectively with special educational problems occasioned by desegregation. Individuals who attend such an institute on a full-time basis may be paid stipends for the period of their attendance at such institute in amounts specified by the Commissioner in regulations, including allowances for travel to attend such institute.

## GRANTS

SEC. 405. (a) The Commissioner is authorized, upon application of a school board, to make grants to such board to pay, in whole or in part, the cost of--

(1) giving to teachers and other school personnel inservice training in dealing with problems incident to desegregation, and

(2) employing specialists to advise in problems incident to desegregation.

(b) In determining whether to make a grant, and in fixing the amount thereof and the terms and conditions on which it will be made, the Commissioner shall take into consideration the amount available for grants under this section and the other applications which are pending before him; the financial condition of the applicant and the other resources available to it; the nature, extent, and gravity of its problems incident to desegregation; and such other factors as he finds relevant.

## PAYMENTS

SEC. 406. Payments pursuant to a grant or contract under this title may be made (after necessary adjustments on account of previously made overpayments or underpayments) in advance or by way of reimbursement, and in such installments, as the Commissioner may determine.

## SUITS BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

SEC. 407. (a) Whenever the Attorney General receives a complaint in writing--

(1) signed by a parent or group of parents to the effect that his or their minor children, as members of a class of persons similarly situated, are being deprived by a school board of the equal protection of the laws, or

(2) signed by an individual, or his parent, to the effect that he has been denied admission to or not permitted to continue in attendance at a public college by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin, and the Attorney General believes the complaint is meritorious and certifies that the signer or signers of such complaint are unable, in his judgment, to initiate and maintain appropriate legal proceedings for relief and that the institution of an action will materially further the orderly achievement of desegregation in public education, the Attorney General is authorized, after giving notice of such complaint to the appropriate school board or college authority and after certifying that he is satisfied that such board or authority has had a reasonable time to adjust the conditions alleged in such complaint, to institute for or in the name of the United States a civil action in any appropriate district court of the United States against such parties and for such relief as may be appropriate, and such court shall have and shall exercise jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section, provided that nothing herein shall empower any official or court of the United States to issue any order seeking to achieve a racial balance in any school by requiring the transportation of pupils or students from one school to another or one school district to another in order to achieve such racial balance, or otherwise enlarge the existing power of the court to insure compliance with constitutional standards. The Attorney General may implead as defendants such additional parties as are or become necessary to the grant of effective relief hereunder.

(b) The Attorney General may deem a person or persons unable to initiate and maintain appropriate legal proceedings within the meaning of subsection

(a) of this section when such person or persons are unable, either directly or through other interested persons or organizations, to bear the expense of the litigation or to obtain effective legal representation; or whenever he is satisfied that the institution of such litigation would jeopardize the personal safety, employment, or economic standing of such person or persons, their families, or their property.

(c) The term "parent" as used in this section includes any person standing in loco parentis. A "complaint" as used in this section is a writing or document within the meaning of section 1001, title 18, United States Code.

SEC. 408. In any action or proceeding under this title the United States shall be liable for costs the same as a private person.

SEC. 409. Nothing in this title shall affect adversely the right of any person to sue for or obtain relief in any court against discrimination in public education.

SEC. 410. Nothing in this title shall prohibit classification and assignment for reasons other than race, color, religion, or national origin.

## **TITLE V--COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS**

SEC. 501. Section 102 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975a; 71

Stat. 634) is amended to read as follows:

### **"RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE COMMISSION HEARINGS**

"SEC. 102. (a) At least thirty days prior to the commencement of any hearing, the Commission shall cause to be published in the Federal Register notice of the date on which such hearing is to commence, the place at which it is to be held and the subject of the hearing. The Chairman, or one designated by him to act as Chairman at a hearing of the Commission, shall announce in an opening statement the subject of the hearing.

"(b) A copy of the Commission's rules shall be made available to any witness before the Commission, and a witness compelled to appear before the Commission or required to produce written or other matter shall be served with a copy of the Commission's rules at the time of service of the subpoena.

"(c) Any person compelled to appear in person before the Commission shall be accorded the right to be accompanied and advised by counsel, who shall have the right to subject his client to reasonable examination, and to make objections on the record and to argue briefly the basis for such objections. The Commission shall proceed with reasonable dispatch to conclude any hearing in which it is engaged. Due regard shall be had for the convenience and necessity of witnesses.

"(d) The Chairman or Acting Chairman may punish breaches of order and decorum by censure and exclusion from the hearings.

"(e) If the Commission determines that evidence or testimony at any hearing may tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate any person, it shall receive such evidence or testimony or summary of such evidence or testimony in executive session. The Commission shall afford any person defamed, degraded, or incriminated by such evidence or testimony an opportunity to appear and be heard in executive session, with a reasonable number of additional witnesses requested by him, before deciding to use such evidence or testimony. In the event the Commission determines to release or use such evidence or testimony in such manner as to reveal publicly the identity of the person defamed, degraded, or incriminated, such evidence or testimony, prior to such public release or use, shall be given at a public session, and the Commission shall afford such person an opportunity to appear as a voluntary witness or to file a sworn statement in his behalf and to submit brief and pertinent sworn statements of others. The Commission shall receive and dispose of requests from such person to subpoena additional witnesses.

"(f) Except as provided in sections 102 and 105 (f) of this Act, the Chairman shall receive and the Commission shall dispose of requests to subpoena additional witnesses.

"(g) No evidence or testimony or summary of evidence or testimony taken in executive session may be released or used in public sessions without the consent of the Commission. Whoever releases or uses in public without the consent of the Commission such evidence or testimony taken in executive session shall be fined not more than \$1,000, or imprisoned for not more than one year.

"(h) In the discretion of the Commission, witnesses may submit brief and pertinent sworn statements in writing for inclusion in the record. The Commission shall determine the pertinency of testimony and evidence adduced at its hearings.

"(i) Every person who submits data or evidence shall be entitled to retain or, on payment of lawfully prescribed costs, procure a copy or transcript thereof, except that a witness in a hearing held in executive session may for good cause be limited to inspection of the official transcript of his testimony. Transcript copies of public sessions may be obtained by the public upon the payment of the cost thereof. An accurate transcript shall be made of the testimony of all witnesses at all hearings, either public or executive sessions, of the Commission or of any subcommittee thereof.

"(j) A witness attending any session of the Commission shall receive \$6 for each day's attendance and for the time necessarily occupied in going to and returning from the same, and 10 cents per mile for going from and returning to his place of residence. Witnesses who attend at points so far removed

from their respective residences as to prohibit return thereto from day to day shall be entitled to an additional allowance of \$10 per day for expenses of subsistence including the time necessarily occupied in going to and returning from the place of attendance. Mileage payments shall be tendered to the witness upon service of a subpoena issued on behalf of the Commission or any subcommittee thereof.

"(k) The Commission shall not issue any subpoena for the attendance and testimony of witnesses or for the production of written or other matter which would require the presence of the party subpoenaed at a hearing to be held outside of the State wherein the witness is found or resides or is domiciled or transacts business, or has appointed an agent for receipt of service of process except that, in any event, the Commission may issue subpoenas for the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of written or other matter at a hearing held within fifty miles of the place where the witness is found or resides or is domiciled or transacts business or has appointed an agent for receipt of service of process.

"(l) The Commission shall separately state and currently publish in the Federal Register (1) descriptions of its central and field organization including the established places at which, and methods whereby, the public may secure information or make requests; (2) statements of the general course and method by which its functions are channeled and determined, and (3) rules adopted as authorized by law. No person shall in any manner be subject to or required to resort to rules, organization, or procedure not so published."

SEC. 502. Section 103(a) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C.

1975b(a); 71 Stat. 634) is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 103. (a) Each member of the Commission who is not otherwise in the service of the Government of the United States shall receive the sum of \$75 per day for each day spent in the work of the Commission, shall be paid actual travel expenses, and per diem in lieu of subsistence expenses when away from his usual place of residence, in accordance with section 5 of the administrative expenses Act of 1946, as amended (5 U.S.C 73b-2; 60 Stat. 808)."

SEC. 503. Section 103(b) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C.

1975(b); 71 Stat. 634) is amended to read as follows:

"(b) Each member of the Commission who is otherwise in the service of the Government of the United States shall serve without compensation in addition to that received for such other service, but while engaged in the work of the Commission shall be paid actual travel expenses, and per diem in lieu of

subsistence expenses when away from his usual place of residence, in accordance with the provisions of the Travel Expenses Act of 1949, as amended

(5 U.S.C. 835--42; 63 Stat. 166)."

SEC. 504. (a) Section 104(a) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975c(a); 71 Stat. 635), as amended, is further amended to read as follows:

"DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

"SEC. 104. (a) The Commission shall--

"(1) investigate allegations in writing under oath or affirmation that certain citizens of the United States are being deprived of their right to vote and have that vote counted by reason of their color, race, religion, or national origin; which writing, under oath or affirmation, shall set forth the facts upon which such belief or beliefs are based;

"(2) study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution because of race, color, religion or national origin or in the administration of justice;

"(3) appraise the laws and policies of the Federal Government with respect to denials of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution because of race, color, religion or national origin or in the administration of justice;

"(4) serve as a national clearinghouse for information in respect to denials of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion or national origin, including but not limited to the fields of voting, education, housing, employment, the use of public facilities, and transportation, or in the administration of justice;

"(5) investigate allegations, made in writing and under oath or affirmation, that citizens of the United States are unlawfully being accorded or denied the right to vote, or to have their votes properly counted, in any election of presidential electors, Members of the United States Senate, or of the House of Representatives, as a result of any patterns or practice of fraud or discrimination in the conduct of such election; and

"(6) Nothing in this or any other Act shall be construed as authorizing the Commission, its Advisory Committees, or any person under its supervision or control to inquire into or investigate any membership practices or internal operations of any fraternal organization, any college or university fraternity or sorority, any private club or any religious organization."

(b) Section 104(b) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975c(b); 71 Stat. 635), as amended, is further amended by striking out the present subsection "(b)" and by substituting therefor:

"(b) The Commission shall submit interim reports to the President and to the Congress at such times as the Commission, the Congress or the President shall deem desirable, and shall submit to the President and to the Congress a final report of its activities, findings, and recommendations not later than January 31, 1968."

SEC. 505. Section 105(a) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975d(a); 71 Stat. 636) is amended by striking out in the last sentence thereof "\$50 per diem" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$75 per diem."

SEC. 506. Section 105(f) and section 105(g) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975d (f) and (g); 71 Stat. 636) are amended to read as follows:

"(f) The Commission, or on the authorization of the Commission any subcommittee of two or more members, at least one of whom shall be of each major political party, may, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act, hold such hearings and act at such times and places as the Commission or such authorized subcommittee may deem advisable. Subpoenas for the attendance and testimony of witnesses or the production of written or other matter may be issued in accordance with the rules of the Commission as contained in section 102 (j) and (k) of this Act, over the signature of the Chairman of the Commission or of such subcommittee, and may be served by any person designated by such Chairman. The holding of hearings by the Commission, or the appointment of a subcommittee to hold hearings pursuant to this subparagraph, must be approved by a majority of the Commission, or by a majority of the members present at a meeting at which at least a quorum of four members is present.

"(g) In case of contumacy or refusal to obey a subpoena, any district court of the United States or the United States court of any territory or possession, or the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia, within the jurisdiction of which the inquiry is carried on or within the jurisdiction of which said person guilty of contumacy or refusal to obey is found or resides or is domiciled or transacts business, or has appointed an agent for receipt of service of process, upon application by the Attorney General of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue to such person an order requiring such person to appear before the Commission or a subcommittee thereof, there to produce pertinent, relevant and nonprivileged evidence if so ordered, or there to give testimony touching the matter under investigation; and any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by said court as a contempt thereof."



SEC. 507. Section 105 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975d; 71 Stat. 636), as amended by section 401 of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (42 U.S.C. 1975d(h); 74 Stat. 89), is further amended by adding a new subsection at the end to read as follows:

"(i) The Commission shall have the power to make such rules and regulations as are necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act."

## **TITLE VI--NONDISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS**

SEC. 601. No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

SEC. 602. Each Federal department and agency which is empowered to extend Federal financial assistance to any program or activity, by way of grant, loan, or contract other than a contract of insurance or guaranty, is authorized and directed to effectuate the provisions of section 601 with respect to such program or activity by issuing rules, regulations, or orders of general applicability which shall be consistent with achievement of the objectives of the statute authorizing the financial assistance in connection with which the action is taken. No such rule, regulation, or order shall become effective unless and until approved by the President. Compliance with any requirement adopted pursuant to this section may be effected (1) by the termination of or refusal to grant or to continue assistance under such program or activity to any recipient as to whom there has been an express finding on the record, after opportunity for hearing, of a failure to comply with such requirement, but such termination or refusal shall be limited to the particular political entity, or part thereof, or other recipient as to whom such a finding has been made and, shall be limited in its effect to the particular program, or part thereof, in which such non-compliance has been so found, or (2) by any other means authorized by law: Provided, however, That no such action shall be taken until the department or agency concerned has advised the appropriate person or persons of the failure to comply with the requirement and has determined that compliance cannot be secured by voluntary means. In the case of any action terminating, or refusing to grant or continue, assistance because of failure to comply with a requirement imposed pursuant to this section, the head of the federal department or agency shall file with the committees of the House and Senate having legislative jurisdiction over the program or activity involved a full written report of the circumstances and the grounds for such action. No such action shall become effective until thirty days have elapsed after the filing of such report.

SEC. 603. Any department or agency action taken pursuant to section 602 shall be subject to such judicial review as may otherwise be provided by law for similar action taken by such department or

agency on other grounds. In the case of action, not otherwise subject to judicial review, terminating or refusing to grant or to continue financial assistance upon a finding of failure to comply with any requirement imposed pursuant to section 602, any person aggrieved (including any State or political subdivision thereof and any agency of either) may obtain judicial review of such action in accordance with section 10 of the Administrative Procedure Act, and such action shall not be deemed committed to unreviewable agency discretion within the meaning of that section.

SEC. 604. Nothing contained in this title shall be construed to authorize action under this title by any department or agency with respect to any employment practice of any employer, employment agency, or labor organization except where a primary objective of the Federal financial assistance is to provide employment.

SEC. 605. Nothing in this title shall add to or detract from any existing authority with respect to any program or activity under which Federal financial assistance is extended by way of a contract of insurance or guaranty.

## **TITLE VII--EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY**

### **DEFINITIONS**

SEC. 701. For the purposes of this title--

(a) The term "person" includes one or more individuals, labor unions, partnerships, associations, corporations, legal representatives, mutual companies, joint-stock companies, trusts, unincorporated organizations, trustees, trustees in bankruptcy, or receivers.

(b) The term "employer" means a person engaged in an industry affecting commerce who has twenty-five or more employees for each working day in each of twenty or more calendar weeks in the current or preceding calendar year, and any agent of such a person, but such term does not include (1) the United States, a corporation wholly owned by the Government of the United States, an Indian tribe, or a State or political subdivision thereof, (2) a bona fide private membership club (other than a labor organization) which is exempt from taxation under section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954: Provided, That during the first year after the effective date prescribed in subsection (a) of section 716, persons having fewer than one hundred employees (and their agents) shall not be considered employers, and, during the second year after such date, persons having fewer than seventy-five employees (and their agents) shall not be considered employers, and, during the third year after such date, persons having fewer than fifty employees (and their agents) shall not be

considered employers: Provided further, That it shall be the policy of the United States to insure equal employment opportunities for Federal employees without discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin and the President shall utilize his existing authority to effectuate this policy.

(c) The term "employment agency" means any person regularly undertaking with or without compensation to procure employees for an employer or to procure for employees opportunities to work for an employer and includes an agent of such a person; but shall not include an agency of the United States, or an agency of a State or political subdivision of a State, except that such term shall include the United States Employment Service and the system of State and local employment services receiving Federal assistance.

(d) The term "labor organization" means a labor organization engaged in an industry affecting commerce, and any agent of such an organization, and includes any organization of any kind, any agency, or employee representation committee, group, association, or plan so engaged in which employees participate and which exists for the purpose, in whole or in part, of dealing with employers concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours, or other terms or conditions of employment, and any conference, general committee, joint or system board, or joint council so engaged which is subordinate to a national or international labor organization.

(e) A labor organization shall be deemed to be engaged in an industry affecting commerce if (1) it maintains or operates a hiring hall or hiring office which procures employees for an employer or procures for employees opportunities to work for an employer, or (2) the number of its members (or, where it is a labor organization composed of other labor organizations or their representatives, if the aggregate number of the members of such other labor organization) is (A) one hundred or more during the first year after the effective date prescribed in subsection (a) of section 716, (B) seventy-five or more during the second year after such date or fifty or more during the third year, or (C) twenty-five or more thereafter, and such labor organization--

(1) is the certified representative of employees under the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, or the Railway Labor Act, as amended;

(2) although not certified, is a national or international labor organization or a local labor organization recognized or acting as the representative of employees of an employer or employers engaged in an industry affecting commerce; or

(3) has chartered a local labor organization or subsidiary body which is representing or actively seeking to represent employees of employers within the meaning of paragraph (1) or (2); or

(4) has been chartered by a labor organization representing or actively seeking to represent employees within the meaning of paragraph (1) or (2) as the local or subordinate body through which such employees may enjoy membership or become affiliated with such labor organization; or

(5) is a conference, general committee, joint or system board, or joint council subordinate to a national or international labor organization, which includes a labor organization engaged in an industry affecting commerce within the meaning of any of the preceding paragraphs of this subsection.

(f) The term "employee" means an individual employed by an employer.

(g) The term "commerce" means trade, traffic, commerce, transportation, transmission, or communication among the several States; or between a State and any place outside thereof; or within the District of Columbia, or a possession of the United States; or between points in the same State but through a point outside thereof.

(h) The term "industry affecting commerce" means any activity, business, or industry in commerce or in which a labor dispute would hinder or obstruct commerce or the free flow of commerce and includes any activity or industry "affecting commerce" within the meaning of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959.

(i) The term "State" includes a State of the United States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, Guam, Wake Island, The Canal Zone, and Outer Continental Shelf lands defined in the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act.

#### EXEMPTION

SEC. 702. This title shall not apply to an employer with respect to the employment of aliens outside any State, or to a religious corporation, association, or society with respect to the employment of individuals of a particular religion to perform work connected with the carrying on by such corporation, association, or society of its religious activities or to an educational institution with respect to the employment of individuals to perform work connected with the educational activities of such institution.

## **DISCRIMINATION BECAUSE OF RACE, COLOR, RELIGION, SEX, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN**

SEC. 703. (a) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer--

(1) to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or

(2) to limit, segregate, or classify his employees in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

(b) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employment agency to fail or refuse to refer for employment, or otherwise to discriminate against, any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or to classify or refer for employment any individual on the basis of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

(c) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for a labor organization--

(1) to exclude or to expel from its membership, or otherwise to discriminate against, any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin;

(2) to limit, segregate, or classify its membership, or to classify or fail or refuse to refer for employment any individual, in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities, or would limit such employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee or as an applicant for employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or

(3) to cause or attempt to cause an employer to discriminate against an individual in violation of this section.

(d) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for any employer, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee controlling apprenticeship or other training or retraining, including on-the-job training programs to discriminate against any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in admission to, or employment in, any program established to provide apprenticeship or other training.

(e) Notwithstanding any other provision of this title, (1) it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to hire and employ employees, for an employment agency to classify, or refer

for employment any individual, for a labor organization to classify its membership or to classify or refer for employment any individual, or for an employer, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee controlling apprenticeship or other training or retraining programs to admit or employ any individual in any such program, on the basis of his religion, sex, or national origin in those certain instances where religion, sex, or national origin is a bona fide occupational qualification reasonably necessary to the normal operation of that particular business or enterprise, and (2) it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for a school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning to hire and employ employees of a particular religion if such school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning is, in whole or in substantial part, owned, supported, controlled, or managed by a particular religion or by a particular religious corporation, association, or society, or if the curriculum of such school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning is directed toward the propagation of a particular religion.

(f) As used in this title, the phrase "unlawful employment practice" shall not be deemed to include any action or measure taken by an employer, labor organization, joint labor-management committee, or employment agency with respect to an individual who is a member of the Communist Party of the United States or of any other organization required to register as a Communist-action or Communist-front organization by final order of the Subversive Activities Control Board pursuant to the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950.

(g) Notwithstanding any other provision of this title, it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to fail or refuse to hire and employ any individual for any position, for an employer to discharge any individual from any position, or for an employment agency to fail or refuse to refer any individual for employment in any position, or for a labor organization to fail or refuse to refer any individual for employment in any position, if--

(1) the occupancy of such position, or access to the premises in or upon which any part of the duties of such position is performed or is to be performed, is subject to any requirement imposed in the interest of the national security of the United States under any security program in effect pursuant to or administered under any statute of the United States or any Executive order of the President; and

(2) such individual has not fulfilled or has ceased to fulfill that requirement.

(h) Notwithstanding any other provision of this title, it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to apply different standards of compensation, or different terms, conditions, or privileges of employment pursuant to a bona fide seniority or merit system, or a system which measures earnings by quantity or quality of production or to employees who work in different

locations, provided that such differences are not the result of an intention to discriminate because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, nor shall it be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to give and to act upon the results of any professionally developed ability test provided that such test, its administration or action upon the results is not designed, intended or used to discriminate because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin. It shall not be an unlawful employment practice under this title for any employer to differentiate upon the basis of sex in determining the amount of the wages or compensation paid or to be paid to employees of such employer if such differentiation is authorized by the provisions of section 6(d) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended (29 U.S.C. 206(d)).

(i) Nothing contained in this title shall apply to any business or enterprise on or near an Indian reservation with respect to any publicly announced employment practice of such business or enterprise under which a preferential treatment is given to any individual because he is an Indian living on or near a reservation.

(j) Nothing contained in this title shall be interpreted to require any employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee subject to this title to grant preferential treatment to any individual or to any group because of the race, color, religion, sex, or national origin of such individual or group on account of an imbalance which may exist with respect to the total number or percentage of persons of any race, color, religion, sex, or national origin employed by any employer, referred or classified for employment by any employment agency or labor organization, admitted to membership or classified by any labor organization, or admitted to, or employed in, any apprenticeship or other training program, in comparison with the total number or percentage of persons of such race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in any community, State, section, or other area, or in the available work force in any community, State, section, or other area.

## **OTHER UNLAWFUL EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES**

SEC. 704. (a) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to discriminate against any of his employees or applicants for employment, for an employment agency to discriminate against any individual, or for a labor organization to discriminate against any member thereof or applicant for membership, because he has opposed, any practice made an unlawful employment practice by this title, or because he has made a charge, testified, assisted, or participated in any manner in an investigation, proceeding, or hearing under this title.

(b) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer, labor organization, or employment agency to print or publish or cause to be printed or published any notice or advertisement relating to employment by such an employer or membership in or any classification or referral for employment by such a labor organization, or relating to any classification or referral for employment by such an employment agency, indicating any preference, limitation, specification, or discrimination, based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, except that such a notice or advertisement may indicate a preference, limitation, specification, or discrimination based on religion, sex, or national origin when religion, sex, or national origin is a bona fide occupational qualification for employment.



## **EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION**

SEC. 705. (a) There is hereby created a Commission to be known as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which shall be composed of five members, not more than three of whom shall be members of the same political party, who shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. One of the original members shall be appointed for a term of one year, one for a term of two years, one for a term of three years, one for a term of four years, and one for a term of five years, beginning from the date of enactment of this title, but their successors shall be appointed for terms of five years each, except that any individual chosen to fill a vacancy shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of the member whom he shall succeed. The President shall designate one member to serve as Chairman of the Commission, and one member to serve as Vice Chairman. The Chairman shall be responsible on behalf of the Commission for the administrative operations of the Commission, and shall appoint, in accordance with the civil service laws, such officers, agents, attorneys, and employees as it deems necessary to assist it in the performance of its functions and to fix their compensation in accordance with the Classification Act of 1949, as amended. The Vice Chairman shall act as Chairman in the absence or disability of the Chairman or in the event of a vacancy in that office.

(b) A vacancy in the Commission shall not impair the right of the remaining members to exercise all the powers of the Commission and three members thereof shall constitute a quorum.

(c) The Commission shall have an official seal which shall be judicially noticed.

(d) The Commission shall at the close of each fiscal year report to the Congress and to the President concerning the

## **Civil Rights Simplified**

### **Black Panthers**

A militant Black political party founded in 1965 to end political dominance by Whites

???

### **Black Power**

A call to African Americans to unite, to recognize thier heritage, build a sense of community, define own goals, etc

???

### **Civil Rights act of 1964**

A federal law, passed during Lyndon Johnson's presidency, that authorized federal action against segregation in public accomodations, public facilities, and employment.

???

### **Voting Rights Act**

1965: ended literacy tests, provided federal registrars where whites prevented blacks from voting

???

### **SCLC**

Southern Christian Leadership Conference, churches link together to inform blacks about changes in the Civil Rights Movement, led by MLK Jr., was a success

???

### **NAACP**

- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

???

## **Freedom Rides**

A series of political protests against segregation by Blacks and Whites who rode buses together through the American South in 1961

???

## **Rivonia Trial**

Trial that took place in South Africa between 1963 and 1964 in which leaders of the ANC were tried. This trial sent Nelson Mandela to prison.

???

## **Bloody Sunday in Selma**

March 7, 1965

???

## **Jim Crow**

Laws designed to enforce segregation of blacks from whites

???

## **Pan-African Congress**

1919 Was organized from an idea that people of African descent around the world should work together for their freedom, Africa deserved independence from European rule/ colonialism

???

## **Reconstruction**

The period after the Civil War in the United States when the southern states were reorganized and reintegrated into the Union

???

## **Little Rock Nine**

In September 1957 the school board in Little rock, Arkansas, won a court order to admit nine African American students to Central High a school with 2,000 white students. The governor ordered troops from Arkansas National Guard to prevent the nine from entering the school. The next day as the National Guard troops surrounded the school, an angry white mob joined the troops to protest the integration plan and to intimidate the AA students trying to register. The mob violence pushed Eisenhower's patience to the breaking point. He immediately ordered the US Army to send troops to Little Rock to protect and escort them for the full school year.

???

## **Plessy vs. Ferguson**

(1896) The Court ruled that segregation was not discriminatory (did not violate black civil rights under the Fourteenth Amendemnt) provide that blacks received accommodations equal to those of whites.

???

## **Homelands**

Areas in South Africa for residence of "tribal" African peoples; overpopulated and poverty-stricken.

???

## **Segregation**

Seperation, as in seperation of one racial group from another

???

## **Sit-Ins**

Protests by black college students, 1960-1961, who took seats at "whites only" lunch counters and refused to leave until served; in 1960 over 50,000 participated in sit-ins across the South. Their success prompted the formation of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

???

## **SNCC**

..., (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee)-a group established in 1960 to promote and use non-violent means to protest racial discrimination; they were the ones primarily responsible for creating the sit-in movement

???

### **Sharpeville Massacre**

March 21, 1960 in Sharpeville, by Johannesburg. PAC led campaign of blacks to surrender themselves for arrest and led to small clashes and then the police firing, killing and wounding many.

???

### **Freedom Summer**

In 1964, when blacks and whites together challenged segregation and led a massive drive to register blacks to vote.

???

### **Klu Klux Klan**

A secret organization that used terrorist tactics in an attempt to restore white supremacy in the South after the Civil War.

???

### **Black Codes**

Laws denying most legal rights to newly freed slaves; passed by southern states following the Civil War

???

### **Umkhonto We Sizwe**

Was the active military wing of the African National Congress in cooperation with the South African Communist Party in their fight against the South African apartheid government

???

### **Afrikaans Medium Decree**

Mandated use of 50-50 where people learned math/science in Afrikaans (Dutch)

???

### **Black Consciousness**

Movement to encourage blacks to take pride in their race, overcoming lies they have been told about whites being better than them

???

### **Montgomery Bus Boycott**

In 1955, after Rosa Parks was arrested for refusing to give up her seat on a city bus, Dr. Martin L. King led a boycott of city busses. After 11 months the Supreme Court ruled that segregation of public transportation was illegal.

???

### **March On Washington**

Held in 1963 to show support for the Civil Rights Bill in Congress. Martin Luther King gave his famous "I have a dream..." speech. 250,000 people attended the rally

???

### **Sophiatown**

A coloured town near Johannesburg that was destroyed in 1955, because it was considered to be for whites only.

???

### **Steven Biko**

Formed the Black Consciousness and inspired youth of Soweto to take action. Was murdered in 1977

???

### **W.E.B. Dubois**

The 1st black to earn Ph.D. from Harvard, encouraged blacks to resist systems of segregation and discrimination, helped create NAACP in 1910

???

### **Martin Luther King, jr.**

U.S. Baptist minister and civil rights leader. A noted orator, he opposed discrimination against blacks by organizing nonviolent resistance and peaceful mass demonstrations. He was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee. Nobel Peace Prize (1964)

???

### **Booker T. Washington**

..., African American progressive who supported segregation and demanded that African American better themselves individually to achieve equality.

???

### **Malcom X**

spread ideas of black nationalism. disagreed w/ both the tactics and goals of the early civil rights movement. minister of the nation of islam. rejected his original name because it was his family's slave name

???

### **Rosa Parks**

(LBJ) , United States civil rights leader who refused to give up her seat on a bus to a white man in Montgomery (Alabama) and so triggered the national civil rights movement (born in 1913)

???

### **Nelson Mandela**

ANC leader imprisoned by Afrikaner regime; released in 1990 and elected as president of South Africa in 1994.

???

## **Apartheid**

A South African policy of complete legal separation of the races, including the banning of all social contacts between blacks and whites.

???

## **Boers**

Also known as Afrikaners, the sector of the white population of South Africa that was descended from early Dutch settlers.

???

## **Afrikanners**

Afrikaans speaking ethnic group in Southern Africa; those who migrated to South Africa

???

## **Native Land Act**

A 1913 South African law that limited black ownership of land to native reserves encompassing only 1/7th of the country. The resulting poor, overpopulated, too small to feed themselves rural natives served as a pool of cheap, temporary labor for white farms, gold mines, and urban factories. This act legally made a temporary migrant who could be returned to the reserve at will by the government, or their employer.

???

## **African National Congress**

An organization dedicated to obtaining equal voting and civil rights for black inhabitants of South Africa. Founded in 1912 as the South African Native National Congress, it changed its name in 1923. Eventually brought equality (809)

???

## **Pass laws**

laws that stated blacks had to carry passbooks to show where they lived and worked. Blacks could also own land only in homelands, and couldn't be out after dark



???

### **Cape Colony**

Dutch colony established at Cape of Good Hope in 1652 initially to provide a coastal station for the Dutch seaborne empire; by 1770 settlements had expanded sufficiently to come into conflict with Bantus.

???

### **Great Trek**

Movement of Boer settlers in Cape Colony of southern Africa to escape influence of British colonial government in 1834; led to settlement of regions north of Orange River and Natal.

???

### **Anglo-Boer War**

Fought between 1899 and 1902 over the continued independence of Boer republics; resulted in British victory, but began the process of decolonization for whites in South Africa



## **FROM AFRICA TO THE AMERICAS**

In the 360 years between 1500 and the end of the slave trade in the 1860's, at least 12 million Africans were forcibly taken to the Americas - then known as the "New World" to European settlers. This largest forced migration in human history relocated some 50 ethnic and linguistic groups.

Only a small portion of the enslaved - less than half a million - were sent to North America. The majority went to South America and the Caribbean. In the mid-1600s, Africans outnumbered Europeans in nascent cities such as Mexico City, Havana and Lima.

### **A TERRIBLE TRADE**

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade is called a Triangular Trade for its three-legged route that began and ended in Europe.

European vessels took goods to Africa, where they were exchanged for slaves. The ships then sailed to the Americas to trade slaves for agricultural products - extracted by slave labor - which were sold in Europe after the return journey.

### **The Middle Passage**

The journey between Africa and the Americas, "The Middle Passage," could take four to six weeks, but the average lasted between two and three months. Chained and crowded with no room to move, Africans were forced to make the journey under terrible conditions, naked and lying in filth.

The abhorrent conditions of captivity resulted in the deaths of an estimated 1.5 to 2 million men, women and children en route to the New World.

Nearly a quarter of the Africans brought to North America came from Angola, while an equal percentage, arriving later, originated in Senegambia.

Over 40 percent of Africans entered the U.S. through the port city of Charleston, South Carolina, the center of the U.S. slave trade.

## How Many Slaves Landed in the U.S.?

The most comprehensive analysis of shipping records over the course of the slave trade is the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, edited by professors David Eltis and David Richardson. (While the editors are careful to say that all of their figures are estimates, I believe that they are the best estimates that we have, the proverbial “gold standard” in the field of the study of the slave trade.) Between 1525 and 1866, in the entire history of the slave trade to the New World, according to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, 12.5 *million* Africans were shipped to the New World. 10.7 million survived the dreaded Middle Passage, disembarking in North America, the Caribbean and South America.

And how many of these 10.7 million Africans were shipped directly to North America? *Only about 388,000*. That’s right: a tiny percentage.

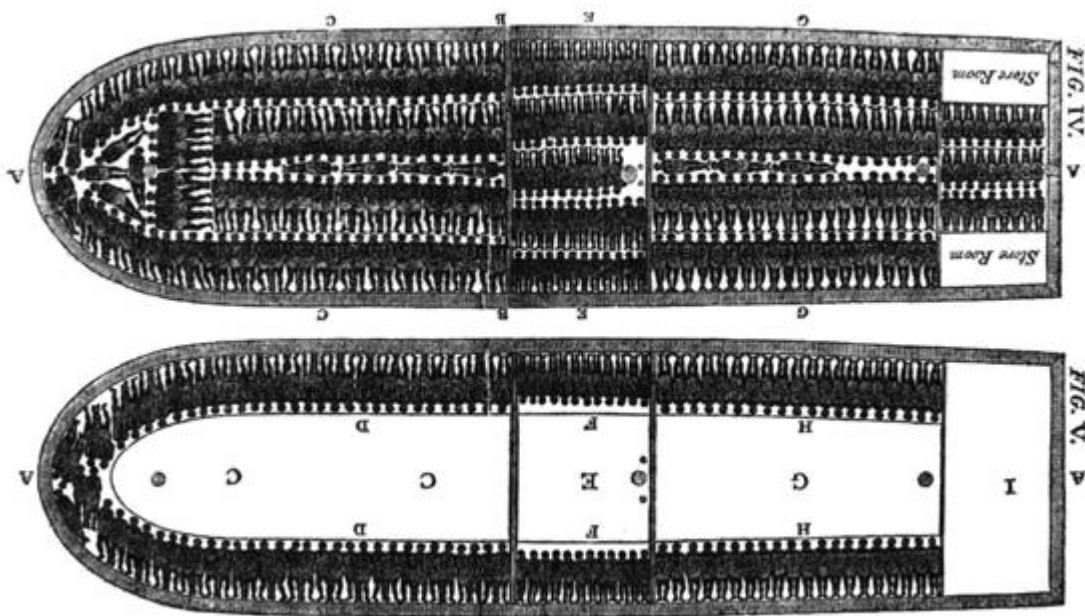


Diagram of a slave ship from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, 1790-1 (Public Domain)

## **ORIGINS OF SLAVERY IN AMERICA**

In 1619, the Dutch introduced the first captured Africans to America, planting the seeds of a slavery system that evolved into a nightmare of abuse and cruelty that would ultimately divide the nation.

Slavery in America began when the first African slaves were brought to the North American colony of Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619, to aid in the production of such lucrative crops as tobacco. Slavery was practiced throughout the American colonies in the 17th and 18th centuries, and African-American slaves helped build the economic foundations of the new nation. The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 solidified the central importance of slavery to the South's economy. By the mid-19th century, America's westward expansion, along with a growing abolition movement in the North, would provoke a great debate over slavery that would tear the nation apart in the bloody American Civil War (1861-65). Though the Union victory freed the nation's 4 million slaves, the legacy of slavery continued to influence American history, from the tumultuous years of Reconstruction (1865-77) to the civil rights movement that emerged in the 1960s, a century after emancipation.

## **FOUNDATIONS OF SLAVERY IN AMERICA**

In the early 17th century, European settlers in North America turned to African slaves as a cheaper, more plentiful labor source than indentured servants (who were mostly poorer Europeans). After 1619, when a Dutch ship brought 20 Africans ashore at the British colony of Jamestown, Virginia, slavery spread throughout the American colonies. Though it is impossible to give accurate figures, some historians have estimated that 6 to 7 million slaves were imported to the New World during the 18th century alone, depriving the African continent of some of its healthiest and ablest men and women.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, black slaves worked mainly on the tobacco, rice and indigo plantations of the southern coast. After the American Revolution(1775-83), many colonists (particularly in the North, where slavery was relatively unimportant to the economy) began to link the oppression of black slaves to their own oppression by the British, and to call for slavery's abolition. After the war's end, however, the new U.S. Constitution tacitly acknowledged the institution, counting each slave as three-fifths of a person for the purposes of taxation and representation in Congress and guaranteeing the right to repossess any "person held to service or labor" (an obvious euphemism for slavery).

### **IMPORTANCE OF THE COTTON GIN**

In the late 18th century, with the land used to grow tobacco nearly exhausted, the South faced an economic crisis, and the continued growth of slavery in America seemed in doubt. Around the same time, the mechanization of the textile industry in England led to a huge demand for American cotton, a southern crop whose production was unfortunately limited by the difficulty of removing the seeds from raw cotton fibers by hand. In 1793, a young Yankee schoolteacher named Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin, a simple mechanized device that efficiently removed the seeds. His device was widely copied, and within a few years the South would transition from the large-scale production of tobacco to that of cotton, a switch that reinforced the region's dependence on slave labor.

Slavery itself was never widespread in the North, though many of the region's businessmen grew rich on the slave trade and investments in southern plantations. Between 1774 and 1804, all of the northern states abolished slavery, but the so-called "peculiar institution" remained absolutely vital to the South. Though the U.S. Congress outlawed the African slave trade in 1808, the domestic trade flourished, and the slave population in the U.S. nearly tripled over the next 50 years. By 1860 it had reached nearly 4 million, with more than half living in the cotton-producing states of the South.

## **SLAVES AND SLAVEHOLDERS**

Slaves in the antebellum South constituted about one-third of the southern population. Most slaves lived on large farms or small plantations; many masters owned less than 50 slaves. Slave owners sought to make their slaves completely dependent on them, and a system of restrictive codes governed life among slaves. They were prohibited from learning to read and write, and their behavior and movement was restricted. Many masters took sexual liberties with slave women, and rewarded obedient slave behavior with favors, while rebellious slaves were brutally punished. A strict hierarchy among slaves (from privileged house slaves and skilled artisans down to lowly field hands) helped keep them divided and less likely to organize against their masters. Slave marriages had no legal basis, but slaves did marry and raise large families; most slave owners encouraged this practice, but nonetheless did not hesitate to divide slave families by sale or removal.

Slave revolts did occur within the system (notably ones led by Gabriel Prosser in Richmond in 1800 and by Denmark Vesey in Charleston in 1822), but few were successful. The slave revolt that most terrified white slaveholders was that led by Nat Turner in Southampton County, Virginia, in August 1831. Turner's group, which eventually numbered around 75 blacks, murdered some 60 whites in two days before armed resistance from local whites and the arrival of state militia forces overwhelmed them. Supporters of slavery pointed to Turner's rebellion as evidence that blacks were inherently inferior barbarians requiring an institution such as slavery to discipline them, and fears of similar insurrections led many southern states to further strengthen their slave codes in order to limit the education, movement and assembly of slaves. In the North, the increased repression of southern blacks would only fan the flames of the growing abolition movement.

## **RISE OF THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT**

From the 1830s to the 1860s, a movement to abolish slavery in America gained strength in the northern United States, led by free blacks such as Frederick Douglass and white supporters such as

William Lloyd Garrison, founder of the radical newspaper *The Liberator*, and Harriet Beecher Stowe, who published the bestselling antislavery novel “*Uncle Tom’s Cabin*” (1852). While many abolitionists based their activism on the belief that slaveholding was a sin, others were more inclined to the non-religious “free-labor” argument, which held that slaveholding was regressive, inefficient and made little economic sense.

Free blacks and other antislavery northerners had begun helping fugitive slaves escape from southern plantations to the North via a loose network of safe houses as early as the 1780s. This practice, known as the Underground Railroad, gained real momentum in the 1830s and although estimates vary widely, it may have helped anywhere from 40,000 to 100,000 slaves reach freedom. The success of the Underground Railroad helped spread abolitionist feelings in the North; it also undoubtedly increased sectional tensions, convincing pro-slavery southerners of their northern countrymen’s determination to defeat the institution that sustained them.

## **WESTERN EXPANSION AND DEBATE OVER SLAVERY IN AMERICA**

America’s explosive growth—and its expansion westward in the first half of the 19th century—would provide a larger stage for the growing conflict over slavery in America and its future limitation or expansion. In 1820, a bitter debate over the federal government’s right to restrict slavery over Missouri’s application for statehood ended in a compromise: Missouri was admitted to the Union as a slave state, Maine as a free state and all western territories north of Missouri’s southern border were to be free soil. Although the Missouri Compromise was designed to maintain an even balance between slave and free states, it was able to help quell the forces of sectionalism only temporarily.

In 1850, another tenuous compromise was negotiated to resolve the question of territory won during the Mexican War. Four years later, however, the Kansas-Nebraska Act opened all new territories to slavery by asserting the rule of popular sovereignty over congressional edict, leading pro- and anti-



slavery forces to battle it out (with much bloodshed) in the new state of Kansas. Outrage in the North over the Kansas-Nebraska Act spelled the downfall of the old Whig Party and the birth of a new, all-northern Republican Party. In 1857, the Supreme Court's ruling in the Dred Scott case (involving a slave who sued for his freedom on the grounds that his master had taken him into free territory) effectively repealed the Missouri Compromise by ruling that all territories were open to slavery. The abolitionist John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in 1859 aroused sectional tensions even further: Executed for his crimes, Brown was hailed as a martyred hero by northern abolitionists and a vile murderer in the South.

## **CIVIL WAR AND EMANCIPATION**

The South would reach the breaking point the following year, when Republican candidate Abraham Lincoln was elected as president. Within three months, seven southern states had seceded to form the Confederate States of America; four more would follow after the Civil War (1861-65) began. Though Lincoln's antislavery views were well established, the central Union war aim at first was not to abolish slavery, but to preserve the United States as a nation. Abolition became a war aim only later, due to military necessity, growing anti-slavery sentiment in the North and the self-emancipation of many African Americans who fled enslavement as Union troops swept through the South. Five days after the bloody Union victory at Antietam in September 1862, Lincoln issued a preliminary emancipation proclamation, and on January 1, 1863, he made it official that "slaves within any State, or designated part of a State...in rebellion,...shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free."

By freeing some 3 million black slaves in the rebel states, the Emancipation Proclamation deprived the Confederacy of the bulk of its labor forces and put international public opinion strongly on the Union side. Some 186,000 black soldiers would join the Union Army by the time the war ended in 1865, and 38,000 lost their lives. The total number of dead at war's end was 620,000 (out of a population of some 35 million), making it the costliest conflict in American history.

## **THE LEGACY OF SLAVERY**

The 13th Amendment, adopted late in 1865, officially abolished slavery, but freed blacks' status in the post-war South remained precarious, and significant challenges awaited during the Reconstruction period (1865-77). Former slaves received the rights of citizenship and the "equal protection" of the Constitution in the 14th Amendment (1868) and the right to vote in the 15th (1870), but the provisions of Constitution were often ignored or violated, and it was difficult for former slaves to gain a foothold in the post-war economy thanks to restrictive black codes and regressive contractual arrangements such as sharecropping.

Despite seeing an unprecedented degree of black participation in American political life, Reconstruction was ultimately frustrating for African Americans, and the rebirth of white supremacy—including the rise of racist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan—had triumphed in the South by 1877. Almost a century later, resistance to the lingering racism and discrimination in America that began during the slavery era would lead to the civil rights movement of the 1960s, which would achieve the greatest political and social gains for blacks since Reconstruction

## **Slavery of Africans and Slavery in Africa**

Although slavery has been practiced for almost the whole of recorded history, the vast numbers involved in the African slave trade has left a legacy which cannot be ignored.

### **Slavery in Africa**

Whether slavery existed within sub-Saharan African societies before the arrival of Europeans is a hotly contested point between Afrocentric and Eurocentric academics. What is certain is that Africans were subjected to several forms of slavery over the centuries, including chattel slavery under both the Muslims with the trans-Saharan slave trade, and Europeans through the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

Even after the abolition of the slave trade in Africa, Colonial powers used forced labor – such as in King Leopold's Congo Free State (which was operated as a massive labor camp) or as *libertos* on the Portuguese plantations of Cape Verde or São Tomé.

### **The Start of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade**

When the Portuguese first sailed down the Atlantic African coast in the 1430s, they were interested in one thing. Surprisingly, given modern perspectives, it was not slaves but gold. However, by 1500 they had traded already 81,000 Africans to Europe, nearby Atlantic islands, and to Muslim merchants in Africa.

### **Origins of the trans-Atlantic Slave Trade**

São Tomé is considered to be a principle port in the export of slaves across the Atlantic, this is, however, only part of the story.

The island of São Tomé was discovered by the Portuguese in 1472 - part of the expanding European search for a route to the East, a source of suitable land to colonize for wheat, vine and sugar production, and access to the legendary gold mines of West Africa. In 1493 Álvaro Caminha was

granted the right to create a settlement on São Tomé (and begin plantations) by the Portuguese crown. In 1522, São Tomé came under direct Portuguese administration.



Cape Verde (bigger circle), and São Tomé e Príncipe (smaller circle)

Álvaro Caminha was appointed by King John II of Portugal in 1492 Captain-major (governor) – apparently the third – of the Portuguese colony of São Tomé and Príncipe which had been discovered 22 years earlier.

He was a knight of the king's household and was told to settle and "Christianize" the then deserted island with his family and friars, and for that purpose was apparently given the children of Spanish Jewish refugees from Granada, which had not been able to pay the tax requested by the king, and who were married to Black people from the Congo.

### **A Need For Workers**

Initially settled by Portuguese overseers and convict laborers, São Tomé's climate proved unsuitable for European workers and an alternative workforce was needed. As the Portuguese extended their reach along the West African coast, they came into contact with Islamic slave traders who bought slaves in West African for their trans-Saharan market. Although the Portuguese at that time were predominantly interested in trading textiles, horses, tools, wine, and copper for gold, pepper, and ivory, a small but significant market developed for African slaves for São Tomé (as well as the other

newly discovered islands along Africa's Atlantic coast: Madeira, the Canary Islands, and Cape Verde Islands).



### **Selling to the Islamic Slave Trade**

During the first 15 years of the sixteenth century, slave exports to these islands totaled around 2,500 a year. From 1516 to 1521 the number of slaves transported rose to around 5,400 per year. This wasn't, however, due to an increased demand for slaves on the various plantation islands - it was the result of a developing slave trade from the Kingdom of Congo, further down the Atlantic coast, and the discovery that a profit could be made selling slaves to the Islamic traders along Africa's Gold Coast. São Tomé became a transit point for traders taking slaves from the Congo for sale in the Gold Coast and to the other Portuguese plantation islands (a few hundred each year were even taken back to Portugal itself). Between 1510 and 1540, four to six slave ships continually transported slaves from São Tomé to the Gold Coast. The smaller caravels could carry 30 to 80 slaves; the larger vessels could carry between 100 to 120 slaves at a time.

The Portuguese had reached the Congo estuary in 1482. In 1489 the Kingdom of Congo ruler, Manikongo (*Nzinga Nkuma*), formed a trading agreement with them, and missionaries and artisans were sent out from Portugal. These carpenters, masons, stock-breeders, etc., were heavily involved in

the re-development of the Congolese capital, previously known as Mbanza Congo, which was now renamed São Salvador.

### **The Kingdom of Congo**

Manikongo was succeeded by his son Alfonso (*Nzinga Mbemba*), who ruled from 1506 to 1543. He modeled his court after that of Lisbon (creating Dukes, Marquises, and Counts, mostly from family members). Members of his royal court wore European dress. The Congo court spent a considerable fortune importing fabric, wine, and luxury items, the money obtained from the sale of slaves and minerals. Slaves were obtained by Alfonso through border skirmishes with the Loango (to the north), Ndongo (to the south), and Mbangala (further inland), and through tribute collections. Although the Portuguese showed considerable interest in the Congolese mining operations, Alfonso managed to maintain a monopoly on production.

Although the Portuguese tried to restrict the Congo's access to other markets (the Gold Coast and even Europe itself) by refusing to sell him ships, the Kingdom of Congo maintained a small maritime presence at the port of Mpinda. King Alfonso even 'owned' a couple of plantations on the island of São Tomé, operated by two members of the royal household.

### **The 'Triangular Trade' in Slaves**

For two hundred years, 1440-1640, Portugal had a monopoly on the export of slaves from Africa. It is notable that they were also the last European country to abolish the institution - although, like France, it still continued to work former slaves as contract laborers, which they called *libertos* or *engagés à temps*. It is estimated that during the 4 1/2 centuries of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, Portugal was responsible for transporting over 4.5 million Africans (roughly 40% of the total). During the eighteenth century however, when the slave trade accounted for the transport of a staggering 6 million Africans, Britain was the worst transgressor - responsible for almost 2.5 million. (A fact often forgotten by those who regularly cite Britain's prime role in the abolition of the slave trade.)

## **The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade**

Information on how many slaves were shipped from Africa across the Atlantic to the Americas during the sixteenth century can only be estimated as very few records exist for this period. But from the seventeenth century onwards, increasingly accurate records, such as ship manifests, are available.

Slaves for the Trans-Atlantic slave trade were initially sourced in Senegambia and the Windward Coast. Around 1650 the trade moved to west-central Africa (the Kingdom of the Congo and neighboring Angola).

## **Cidade Velha, Historic Center of Ribeira Grande**

### **Outstanding Universal Value**

The town of Ribeira Grande, renamed Cidade Velha in the late 18th century, was the first European colonial outpost in the tropics. Located in the south of the island of Santiago, the town features some of the original street layout impressive remains including two churches, a royal fortress and Pillory Square with its ornate 16th century marble pillar.





Cidade Velha, historic centre of Ribeira Grande demonstrates Outstanding Universal Value: Ribeira Grande was the first European colonial town to be built in the tropics, and marks a decisive step in European expansion at the end of the 15th century towards Africa and the Atlantic area. Ribeira Grande was subsequently, in the 16th and 17th centuries, a key port of call for Portuguese colonization and its administration. It was an exceptional centre in the routes for international maritime trade, included in the routes between Africa and the Cape, Brazil and the Caribbean. It provides an early image of transcontinental geopolitical visions. Its insular position, isolated but close to the coasts of Africa, made it an essential platform for the Atlantic trade of enslaved persons of modern times. A place of concentration of enslaved persons and the inhuman practices of the trade of enslaved persons, Ribeira Grande was also exceptional in terms of the intercultural encounters from which stemmed the first developed Creole society.



The valley of Ribeira Grande experimented with new forms of colonial agriculture on the boundary between the temperate and tropical climates. It became a platform for the acclimatization and dissemination of plant species across the world.

The monuments, the remains still present in Ribeira Grande and its maritime and agro-urban landscapes, are testimony to its considerable role in international trade associated with the development of European colonial domination towards Africa and America and the birth of Atlantic triangular trade. They are testimony to the organization of the first intercontinental maritime trade, and Ribeira Grande's role as centre for the acclimatization and dissemination of numerous plant species between the temperate and tropical zones, and between the various continents.



The urban, maritime and landscape of Ribeira Grande provides eminent testimony to the origins and the development of over three centuries of Atlantic trade of enslaved persons in modern times and its relationships of domination. It was a major place for its commercial organization and the early experience of using enslaved persons to develop a colonial territory. The mixing of human races and the meeting of African and European cultures gave birth to the first Creole culture.

Ribeira Grande is directly associated with the material manifestation of the history of the enslavement and trafficking of African peoples, and with its considerable cultural and economic consequences. Ribeira Grande was the cradle of the first fully fledged mixed-race Creole society. Creole culture then spread across the Atlantic, adapting to the different colonial contexts of the Caribbean and Americas. Its forms affected many fields including the arts, social customs, beliefs, the pharmacopoeia, and

cooking techniques. Ribeira Grande is an important initial link in an intangible heritage shared by Africa, the Americas and Europe.

## History

The island of Santiago was discovered around 1460 and claimed for the Crown of Portugal. There was no human presence on the island. Exploration of the islands of the archipelago led to the development of the port of call of Ribeira Grande in the years that followed. As early as 1466 it was granted a royal charter entitling its inhabitants to practice the slave trade. It became an essential port of call for Portuguese sea traffic, first towards the coasts of Africa and later on to the Cape. Construction of the first defensive structures, the town hall, and the first church began at the end of the 15th century (see Description).



Ribeira Grande was an ideal location, isolated and well placed for the organization of the triangular transatlantic traffic, particularly trade in African slaves, of which the Portuguese theoretically had a monopoly under the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494). The ancient pillory monument provides direct evidence of the links with violence established by the system of slavery.



In the 16th century the town developed rapidly, favored by an exceptional maritime position, its intercontinental geographical location, and the Azores current. Ribeira Grande bears witness to the first successes of European navigation on the high seas. It was a major crossroads for a Portuguese trade that rapidly became globalised. The fleets leaving for or arriving from Guinea, the Indian Ocean, India, Siam, Brazil, the Antilles, and, of course, Europe came together there, to exchange merchandise, plants, men, and information.

Ribeira Grande was granted the status of a royal town and became the first bishopric of Cape Verde and the African coasts in 1533, institutionalizing its role as a place of transit, exchange, and a variety of contacts between several African peoples, as well as between African slaves and free European men. The slaves were given the rudiments of European culture and evangelized before being shipped to Europe or the Americas.

Despite its limited area, Cidade Velha is an important place in the history of agronomy, forming as it did a centre of transit and acclimatization for many plant species. In the 16th and 17th centuries in particular it was an experimental garden and a conservatory for seeds and plants from all the continents which were sent on to other countries as they were required. The dry but relatively hot climate over which the trade winds blew, in a pivotal position between temperate and tropical zones,



offered favorable conditions for a very diverse vegetation, so long as fresh water was available. Among the plants concerned were sugar cane, bananas, the East African coconut, American maize, citrus fruits and figs from Europe, cotton, etc.



For a century and a half the geostrategic importance of the town was based on its role as a major port of call and on the importance of its slave market. It concentrated considerable wealth in a particularly limited space, defended by a complex system of forts and walls. It attracted the attentions of many seafarers - for example, England's Sir Francis Drake sacked the town in 1585. The defensive system was strengthened by the royal fortress of São Felipe, completed in 1593, one of the strongest of its time.

From the 17th century onwards, however, the new European maritime powers successfully challenged the oceanic commercial hegemony of Portugal and Spain. Jacques Cassard, a corsair from Nantes, attacked and laid waste to Ribeira Grande in 1712 on behalf of Louis XIV, but already by that time it was no longer the rich and powerful maritime citadel of earlier centuries. The decline of the town became more pronounced in the 18th century; the elite classes left the town, and Praia was preferred as a commercial port of call. Political and administrative functions were transferred to Praia in the second half of the 18th and at the beginning of the 19th century. The lack of building materials and the

proximity of the two towns resulted in the demolition of a great number of the best constructed buildings, for the benefit of the new capital. It was then that Ribeira Grande became Cidade Velha, the 'old town.'

However, a residual settlement survived in the middle of the ruins of the Portuguese colonial town into the 19th century, and was then partially reconstructed in the second half of the 20th century. It has a certain local importance, and has developed traditional housing which is typical of Cape Verde.

## **THE FIRST GENERATIONS IN AMERICA ENSLAVEMENT ACROSS THE ATLANTIC**

The earliest slaves in North America worked on plantations along the southern coast, cultivating cash crops like rice and tobacco.

### **Freedom in Spanish Florida**

The part of Florida held by the Spanish, south of St. Mary's River, became a destination for escaped slaves. To antagonize the British both militarily and economically, Spain welcomed slaves from the British territory, declared them free and set up the first free, all black settlement, Fort Mose, north of St. Augustine in 1738.

Successful escapes were rare. As the country expanded westward with acquisitions such as the 1803 Louisiana Purchase and inventions made cultivating certain crops more profitable, the demand for slave labor increased

### **ESCAPED AND FREE BLACKS**

#### **RUNAWAY JOURNEYS**

Since the earliest days of slavery, African Americans risked everything to find freedom. Escaped slaves made their way to Canada, Mexico and areas of the United States where they could live free.

Not run by any one person or organization, the Underground Railroad was a large network of safe houses and routes that escaped slaves used to travel to the North, often covering 10 to 20 miles each day. Harriet Tubman, who escaped from slavery in 1849, is famous for her work as one of the many "conductors" on the Underground Railroad. She journeyed often into the South to help slaves find their way.

### **THE GREAT MIGRATION**

#### **A MASS MOVEMENT NORTH**

The Great Migration was one of the largest migrations ever of the African American population. Many scholars consider it as two waves, between 1916 and 1930, and from 1940 to 1970. The Great Migration saw a total of six million African Americans leave the South.

## **THE FIRST WAVE: OUT OF THE RURAL SOUTH**

Work, both lack of it and opportunities, was a major reason for leaving the South. While the Boll Weevil infestation quickly destroyed the cotton industry between 1915 and 1920, World War I was creating jobs at factories and railroads in the North.

While the Boll Weevil infestation quickly destroyed the cotton industry between 1915 and 1920, World War I was creating jobs at factories and railroads in the North.

## **THE NEW GREAT MIGRATION**

### **A REVERSE MIGRATION**

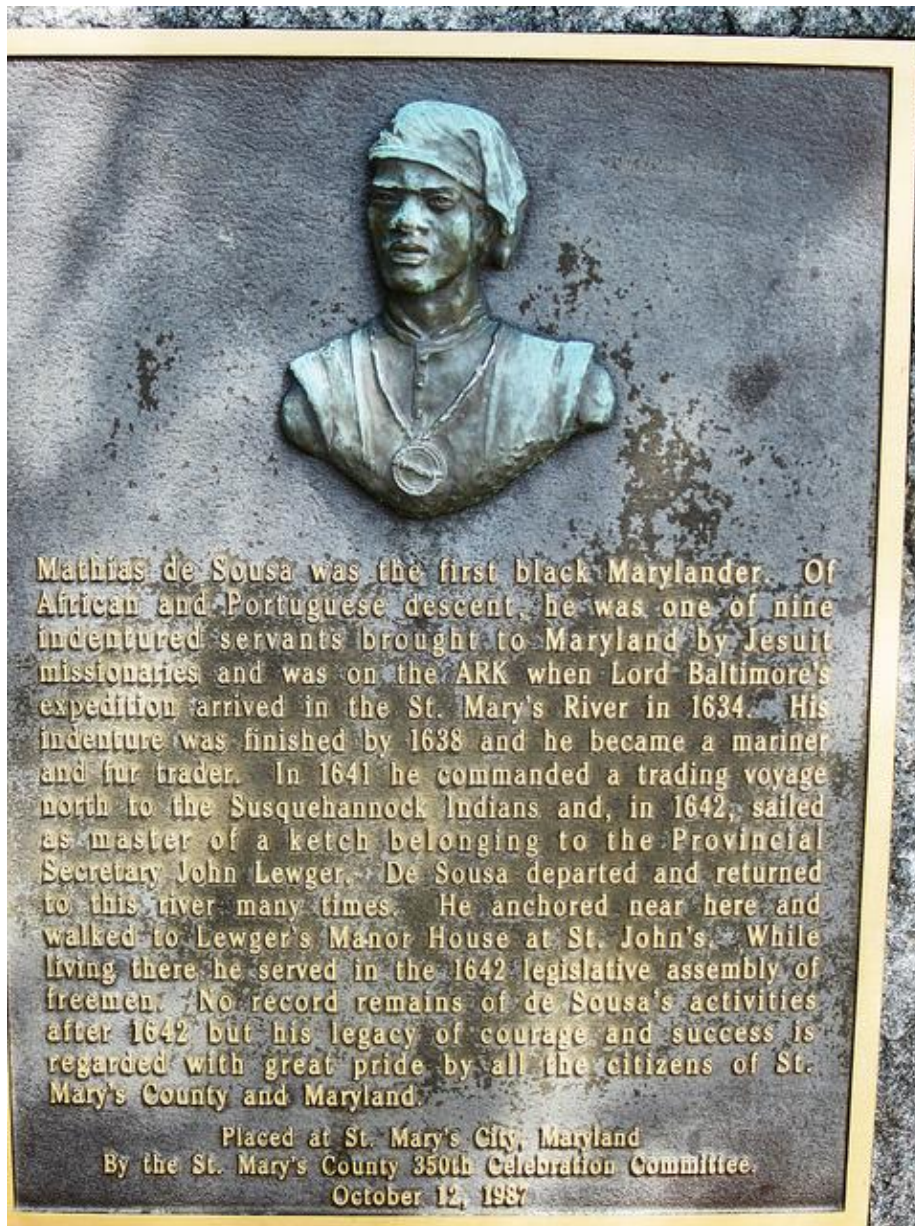
The last decades of the 20th century marked a new migration trend - by 1970 there were more African Americans heading to the South than leaving it. It was already in the late 1960s that the number of African Americans moving to the South eclipsed the number leaving. Since then, black migration to the South has continued to grow.

### **WHY MOVE SOUTH?**

The two biggest reasons for this trend have been familial ties and economic betterment. African Americans who have made this return - the vast majority of them have never lived in the South - have returned to areas where their families had been based. While northern cities have seen a decrease in manufacturing, industry and jobs are growing in the South and West. Cheap labor, tax breaks, and inexpensive land have generated more industrial jobs in the regions and have



### Mathias de Sousa first African-Portuguese on record



**On October 12, 1987, for the 350<sup>th</sup> Year the Celebration Committee of St Mary's City, County of Maryland has the following inscription above:**

*"Mathias the Sousa was the first black Marylander. Of African and Portuguese descent, he was one of the nine indentured servants brought to Maryland by Jesuit missionaries and was on the ARK when Lord Baltimore's expedition arrived in the St. Mary's River in 1634. His indenture was finished by 1638 and he became a mariner and fur trader. In 1641 he commanded a trading voyage north to the Susquehannock Indians and, in 1642, sailed as master of a ketch belonging to the Provincial Secretary John Lewger. De Sousa departed and returned to this river many times. He anchored near here and walked to Lewger's Manor House at St. John's. While living there he served in the 1642 legislative assembly of free man. No record remains of de Sousa's activities after 1642 but his legacy of courage and success is regarded with great pride by all citizens of St. Mary's County and Maryland."*

Sc 5094-3897

Sousa, Mathias de    Born    Died    Immigrant: servant    Hundred

date first record: 1633/4    Last rec and last rec alive: 1642    Date arr: 1633/4  
date free:

wives

occupation: s-ervant; supposedly hired by Pulton to act as skipper and trader with  
Susquehanna Indians

Offices

Religion    Literacy    Title

Householder

Testate

TEV

Children

Note: de Sousa a mulatto  
info from file of JBR



**Mathias de Sousa**

Historians know very little about an early settler to Maryland named Mathias de Sousa. Only a few documents record the details of his life. Some people recognize Mathias as the first, free person of African and Portuguese descent – possibly from Cape Verde Islands where slave trade took place to the Americas or from Angola living in Maryland. Others simply find his life inspiring.

Mathias was a servant who learned skills as a sailor and fur trader to win his freedom. There are some details about Mathias' life we will probably never know, but there are enough facts to tell his story.

Mathias was an indentured servant who worked for Father Andrew White, a Catholic priest. An indentured servant is someone who has to work as a servant to someone for a period of four to seven years. Sometimes the servant agrees to work because they have no money and need to pay off their debts. Sometimes a servant needs to work because they cannot find another job. Sometimes he or she simply wants adventure and a chance to visit faraway places.

No matter what reason Mathias agreed to work for Father White, his job gave him a chance to see the

New World. When Mathias voyaged to Maryland, he worked for Jesuit priests, who were on a mission to establish churches in North America for the Catholic Pope in Rome. When Jesuit officials gave Father Andrew White the chance to settle in Maryland, he brought along with him nine servants, including Mathias.<sup>1</sup> Mathias may also have been a Catholic. It's likely that many of the servants who came to America with the Jesuits were Catholic.<sup>2</sup>

We don't know exactly what Mathias did in the first few years he lived in Maryland. He probably worked very hard with other indentured servants building houses and the new church for the Jesuits. Many servants also planted and harvested crops for food. He probably traveled by boat to Maryland's Eastern Shore with Father White. The priests visited the Native American people who lived there.

We know that one of the Jesuit priests identified Mathias as, "Mathias Sousa, a Molato" in an important land record.<sup>3</sup> The record listed all of the people who came to Maryland with the Jesuits. Governor Leonard Calvert said the Jesuits owned farmland near St. Mary's City. The Governor allowed the priests and their servants to continue to live and grow crops for food on this land.

The term "molato" used by the priest, is the old spelling for "mulatto," defined in the seventeenth-century as a person of mixed African and European descent. It is sometimes difficult to find out about a person's race if they lived in the seventeenth-century. "Mulatto" can also refer to the complexion (lightness or darkness) of a person's skin. We can only guess if this refers to Mathias' ancestry or to the color of his skin tone.<sup>4</sup>

His last name, "de Sousa," is common in Portugal, where perhaps Mathias' father was born. We also do not know how Mathias de Sousa thought of himself. Mathias left us no written record of what he said or thought. Several priests and public officials who knew Mathias recorded all of the information known about him. Information from Maryland government records and court cases show that Mathias was treated well compared to many people with African heritage in Maryland.

The English settlers brought Africans to their colonies as slaves. African slaves in Maryland lived harder lives than the free settlers. Most slaves had little or no chance to earn their freedom. It was not considered a crime for masters to beat slaves and servants for misbehavior. Since Mathias was an indentured servant, he had to work for the Jesuits for four years. In 1638, the priests allowed Mathias to go free. Now he had to earn a living for himself.

During his years of service to the priests, Mathias had learned how to sail the small ship owned by the Jesuits. Mathias decided to earn his living as a fur trader and sailor. He earned money by trading

English goods with Indians for animal furs and food.

For a few years, he continued to work for the priests. The priests made him captain of their trading ship. Later, Mathias was captain of a trading ship owned by John Lewger, who was Secretary in the Maryland government. In March 1641, Mathias was elected as a representative at a Maryland Assembly meeting. This proves that Mathias was no longer a servant. He voted as a citizen.

Then, colonists had a very hard year in 1642. The Susquehannock Indians attacked the English settlers. Mathias could not trade for furs during the Susquehannock invasion. He had trouble paying his rent and buying food. He owed money to three wealthy men: Governor Leonard Calvert, Captain Thomas Cornwaleys and John Hallows.

There is no information about Mathias' life after 1643. No one wrote down what happened to him. The Indians killed some colonists in battles during 1643. Other colonists became sick and died from disease and lack of food.

We don't know about the end of Mathias' life, but we do know that he lived as a sailor and trader. Important people like the Jesuits and John Lewger trusted him to be captain of their ships. Even if they called him a "mulatto," they trusted Mathias to lead white crew members on their vessels.

His life shows that early Marylanders did not always dislike someone of a different race or heritage. The settlers thought of Mathias as a skilled and hard-working citizen.

1.Stone, Garry Wheeler. "Fur Traders and Field Hands: Blacks in Manorial Maryland, 1634-1644." Unpublished manuscript, 1984. See also Maryland State Archives SPECIAL COLLECTIONS (Biographical Series) Mathias de Sousa file, MSA SC 3520-2810.

2.For a more details about Mathias de Sousa's religious beliefs, see David S. Bogen, "Mathias de Sousa; Maryland's First Colonist of African Descent." Maryland Historical Magazine 96(1) (Spring 2001), 73-74.

3.LAND OFFICE (Patent Record, Original) 1646-1657, liber ABH, folio 65, MSA S920-4.

4.For more information about the term "mulatto" and Mathias' heritage, see Bogen, "Mathias de Sousa," 71-72 and Stone, "Fur Traders and Field Hands," 9.

## **What Was America's First Black Town?**

As the nation turns its attention to the 150th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, it's worth noting that decades before the United States was even formed, African Americans lived free in a town of their own — at least for a while.

Sometime between March and November of 1738, Spanish settlers in Florida formed a town named Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, two miles to the north of St. Augustine. Initially, it consisted of 38 men, all fugitive slaves, “most of them married,” who had fled to Florida for sanctuary and freedom from enslavement in the Carolinas and Georgia. It came to be known as Fort Mose.

The enclave was the first line of defense between the Spanish settlers in Florida and their enemies, the English colonists to the north in Carolina (which did not officially split into North and South Carolina until 1729, and then the Southern part of South Carolina split in 1732 to form Georgia). Fort Mose was manned entirely by armed black men, under the leadership of Francisco Menendez, who became the leader of the black militia there in 1726. It deserves to be remembered as the site of the first all-black town in what is now the United States, and as the headquarters of the first black armed soldiers commanded by a black officer, who actively engaged in military combat with English colonists from the Carolinas and Georgia.

Menendez, the first African-American military commander, was a colorful character. Historian Jane Landers is at work on a full-length biography of him, which I hope will be the basis of a documentary or a feature film.

Menendez was born a Mandinga in West Africa at the end of the 17th century. He was captured and served as a slave in South Carolina until the Yamasee Native Americans fought the British settlers in 1715, during which Menendez managed to escape to St. Augustine, Fla. In 1738, he became the leader of the free black town, and was formally commissioned as captain of the free black militia of St. Augustine.

As you might imagine, Spanish Florida exercised a powerful draw on the Carolina slaves' collective imagination, starting in the late 1600s. It was the African-American slaves' first Promised Land. At least since 1687, if slaves made it down to Florida, and professed belief in “the True Faith” — Roman Catholicism — they were declared to be free. News of this haven from enslavement spread through the slave grapevine. And the concentration of these fugitive slaves in St. Augustine led to the creation of the first black town and fort in the U.S.

Landers observes that “As news of the foundation of Mose spread through the South Carolina plantations, groups of slaves broke loose and tried to make for Florida.” And, indeed, in November

1738, 23 men, women and children escaped from Port Royal, S.C., to St. Augustine. Gov. Montiano refused to return them to their supposed “owners,” just as his predecessors had done since 1687. In March 1739, four more slaves and an Irish servant also made their escape to St. Augustine using stolen horses.

Spanish Florida was the African-American slaves’ first Promised Land. All of this was prelude to the famous Stono Rebellion in September 1739. Stono was the most violent and the bloodiest uprising of African-American slaves in the 18th century. And it was inspired, in part, by the promise of freedom that awaited escaping slaves south of the South Carolina and Georgia borders, in the Spanish haven of Florida. Stono is dramatic evidence that the “grapevine telegraph,” as Booker T. Washington would dub the uncanny manner in which slaves communicated with each other plantation to plantation and state to state, was fully functional as early as the first half of the 18th century. (Even John Adams commented on this curious mechanism of communication among slaves, in a letter he wrote in 1775.)

On Sunday, Sept. 9, 1739, about 20 slaves, hailing (historians think) from Angola, killed two store attendants and stole arms and ammunition at Stono Bridge, south of Charleston. As they marched south heading toward Florida, their ranks swelled to about 100, and they continued to burn plantations and kill white settlers. A ferocious battle with the colonial militia left a field of death, including 20 of the colonists and 40 of the slaves. Slaves who fled were later captured and beheaded. But not even this unfortunate outcome deterred other slaves in the region from seeking their freedom: In June 1740, about 150 slaves rebelled near the Ashley River, just outside of Charleston. Fifty were captured and hanged.

Outraged by actions of the slaves at Stono, and fearful of more rebellions from slaves seeking to escape to Florida, the English countered with a siege of Florida between 1739 and 1740. They captured Fort Mose in 1740. As Landers reports, Captain Menendez and the Fort Mose militia allied with Native Americans to fight the invaders, culminating in a bloody battle in June 1740, in which Menendez and his forces attacked the British and killed 75 of their men. In the process, Fort Mose was destroyed.

Menendez would be captured and sold as a slave, but by 1759, he was free and once again in command at Mose, which had been reconstructed by the Spanish in 1752. By 1759, Mose consisted of 37 men, 15 women, seven boys and eight girls. In 1763, under the terms of the Treaty of Paris, the Spanish were forced to abandon Florida but gained Cuba in return. In August, Menendez led 48 men, women and children on the schooner *Nuestra Senora de los Dolores* (Our Lady of Sorrows) and sailed to Cuba, where they settled in Regla, a town near the city of Havana. Fort Mose is now memorialized as a national historic landmark.



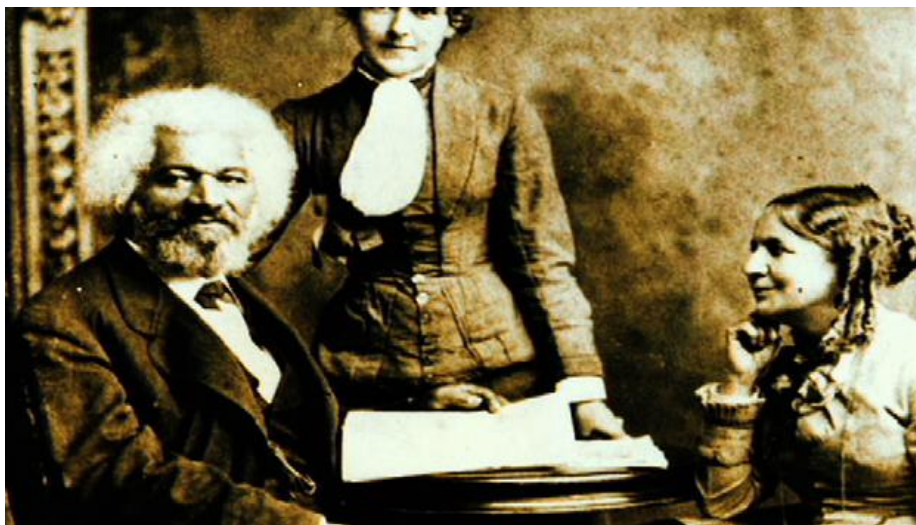
## **Slavery in America**

Slavery in America began when the first African slaves were brought to the North American colony of Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619, to aid in the production of such lucrative crops as tobacco. Slavery was practiced throughout the American colonies in the 17th and 18th centuries, and African-American slaves helped build the economic foundations of the new nation. The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 solidified the central importance of slavery to the South's economy. By the mid-19th century, America's westward expansion, along with a growing abolition movement in the North, would provoke a great debate over slavery that would tear the nation apart in the bloody American Civil War (1861-65). Though the Union victory freed the nation's 4 million slaves, the legacy of slavery continued to influence American history, from the tumultuous years of Reconstruction (1865-77) to the civil rights movement that emerged in the 1960s, a century after emancipation.



**Harriet Tubman and the Underground Railroad**





**Frederick Douglass**

## **FOUNDATIONS OF SLAVERY IN AMERICA**

In the early 17th century, European settlers in North America turned to African slaves as a cheaper, more plentiful labor source than indentured servants (who were mostly poorer Europeans). After 1619, when a Dutch ship brought 20 Africans ashore at the British colony of Jamestown, Virginia, slavery spread throughout the American colonies. Though it is impossible to give accurate figures, some historians have estimated that 6 to 7 million slaves were imported to the New World during the 18th century alone, depriving the African continent of some of its healthiest and ablest men and women.

*One of the first martyrs to the cause of American patriotism was Crispus Attucks, a former slave who was killed by British soldiers during the Boston Massacre of 1770. Some 5,000 black soldiers and sailors fought on the American side during the Revolutionary War.*

In the 17th and 18th centuries, black slaves worked mainly on the tobacco, rice and indigo plantations of the southern coast. After the American Revolution(1775-83), many colonists (particularly in the North, where slavery was relatively unimportant to the economy) began to link the oppression of black slaves to their own oppression by the British, and to call for slavery's abolition. After the war's end, however, the new U.S. Constitution tacitly acknowledged the institution, counting each slave as

three-fifths of a person for the purposes of taxation and representation in Congress and guaranteeing the right to repossess any “person held to service or labor” (an obvious euphemism for slavery).

### IMPORTANCE OF THE COTTON GIN

In the late 18th century, with the land used to grow tobacco nearly exhausted, the South faced an economic crisis, and the continued growth of slavery in America seemed in doubt. Around the same time, the mechanization of the textile industry in England led to a huge demand for American cotton, a southern crop whose production was unfortunately limited by the difficulty of removing the seeds from raw cotton fibers by hand. In 1793, a young Yankee schoolteacher named Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin, a simple mechanized device that efficiently removed the seeds. His device was widely copied, and within a few years the South would transition from the large-scale production of tobacco to that of cotton, a switch that reinforced the region’s dependence on slave labor.

Slavery itself was never widespread in the North, though many of the region’s businessmen grew rich on the slave trade and investments in southern plantations. Between 1774 and 1804, all of the northern states abolished slavery, but the so-called “peculiar institution” remained absolutely vital to the South. Though the U.S. Congress outlawed the African slave trade in 1808, the domestic trade flourished, and the slave population in the U.S. nearly tripled over the next 50 years. By 1860 it had reached nearly 4 million, with more than half living in the cotton-producing states of the South.

### SLAVES AND SLAVEHOLDERS

Slaves in the antebellum South constituted about one-third of the southern population. Most slaves lived on large farms or small plantations; many masters owned less than 50 slaves. Slave owners sought to make their slaves completely dependent on them, and a system of restrictive codes governed life among slaves. They were prohibited from learning to read and write, and their behavior and movement was restricted. Many masters took sexual liberties with slave women, and rewarded obedient slave behavior with favors, while rebellious slaves were brutally punished. A strict hierarchy among slaves (from privileged house slaves and skilled artisans down to lowly field hands) helped keep them divided and less likely to organize against their masters. Slave marriages had no legal basis, but slaves did marry and raise large families; most slave owners encouraged this practice, but nonetheless did not hesitate to divide slave families by sale or removal.

Slave revolts did occur within the system (notably ones led by Gabriel Prosser in Richmond in 1800 and by Denmark Vesey in Charleston in 1822), but few were successful. The slave revolt that most terrified white slaveholders was that led by Nat Turner in Southampton County, Virginia, in August 1831. Turner’s group, which eventually numbered around 75 blacks, murdered some 60 whites in two

days before armed resistance from local whites and the arrival of state militia forces overwhelmed them. Supporters of slavery pointed to Turner's rebellion as evidence that blacks were inherently inferior barbarians requiring an institution such as slavery to discipline them, and fears of similar insurrections led many southern states to further strengthen their slave codes in order to limit the education, movement and assembly of slaves. In the North, the increased repression of southern blacks would only fan the flames of the growing abolition movement.

## RISE OF THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT

From the 1830s to the 1860s, a movement to abolish slavery in America gained strength in the northern United States, led by free blacks such as Frederick Douglass and white supporters such as William Lloyd Garrison, founder of the radical newspaper *The Liberator*, and Harriet Beecher Stowe, who published the bestselling antislavery novel "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (1852). While many abolitionists based their activism on the belief that slaveholding was a sin, others were more inclined to the non-religious "free-labor" argument, which held that slaveholding was regressive, inefficient and made little economic sense.

Free blacks and other antislavery northerners had begun helping fugitive slaves escape from southern plantations to the North via a loose network of safe houses as early as the 1780s. This practice, known as the Underground Railroad, gained real momentum in the 1830s and although estimates vary widely, it may have helped anywhere from 40,000 to 100,000 slaves reach freedom. The success of the Underground Railroad helped spread abolitionist feelings in the North; it also undoubtedly increased sectional tensions, convincing pro-slavery southerners of their northern countrymen's determination to defeat the institution that sustained them.

## WESTERN EXPANSION AND DEBATE OVER SLAVERY IN AMERICA

America's explosive growth—and its expansion westward in the first half of the 19th century—would provide a larger stage for the growing conflict over slavery in America and its future limitation or expansion. In 1820, a bitter debate over the federal government's right to restrict slavery over Missouri's application for statehood ended in a compromise: Missouri was admitted to the Union as a slave state, Maine as a free state and all western territories north of Missouri's southern border were to be free soil. Although the Missouri Compromise was designed to maintain an even balance between slave and free states, it was able to help quell the forces of sectionalism only temporarily.

In 1850, another tenuous compromise was negotiated to resolve the question of territory won during the Mexican War. Four years later, however, the Kansas-Nebraska Act opened all new territories to slavery by asserting the rule of popular sovereignty over congressional edict, leading pro- and anti-

slavery forces to battle it out (with much bloodshed) in the new state of Kansas. Outrage in the North over the Kansas-Nebraska Act spelled the downfall of the old Whig Party and the birth of a new, all-northern Republican Party. In 1857, the Supreme Court's ruling in the Dred Scott case (involving a slave who sued for his freedom on the grounds that his master had taken him into free territory) effectively repealed the Missouri Compromise by ruling that all territories were open to slavery. The abolitionist John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in 1859 aroused sectional tensions even further: Executed for his crimes, Brown was hailed as a martyred hero by northern abolitionists and a vile murderer in the South.

## CIVIL WAR AND EMANCIPATION

The South would reach the breaking point the following year, when Republican candidate Abraham Lincoln was elected as president. Within three months, seven southern states had seceded to form the Confederate States of America; four more would follow after the Civil War (1861-65) began. Though Lincoln's antislavery views were well established, the central Union war aim at first was not to abolish slavery, but to preserve the United States as a nation. Abolition became a war aim only later, due to military necessity, growing anti-slavery sentiment in the North and the self-emancipation of many African Americans who fled enslavement as Union troops swept through the South. Five days after the bloody Union victory at Antietam in September 1862, Lincoln issued a preliminary emancipation proclamation, and on January 1, 1863, he made it official that "slaves within any State, or designated part of a State...in rebellion,...shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free."

By freeing some 3 million black slaves in the rebel states, the Emancipation Proclamation deprived the Confederacy of the bulk of its labor forces and put international public opinion strongly on the Union side. Some 186,000 black soldiers would join the Union Army by the time the war ended in 1865, and 38,000 lost their lives. The total number of dead at war's end was 620,000 (out of a population of some 35 million), making it the costliest conflict in American history.

## THE LEGACY OF SLAVERY

The 13th Amendment, adopted late in 1865, officially abolished slavery, but freed blacks' status in the post-war South remained precarious, and significant challenges awaited during the Reconstruction period (1865-77). Former slaves received the rights of citizenship and the "equal protection" of the Constitution in the 14th Amendment (1868) and the right to vote in the 15th (1870), but the provisions of Constitution were often ignored or violated, and it was difficult for former slaves to gain a foothold in the post-war economy thanks to restrictive black codes and regressive contractual arrangements such as sharecropping.

Despite seeing an unprecedented degree of black participation in American political life, Reconstruction was ultimately frustrating for African Americans, and the rebirth of white supremacy—including the rise of racist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan—had triumphed in the South by 1877. Almost a century later, resistance to the lingering racism and discrimination in America that began during the slavery era would lead to the civil rights movement of the 1960s, which would achieve the greatest political and social gains for blacks since Reconstruction

## The Truth Behind '40 Acres and a Mule'

We've all heard the story of the "40 acres and a mule" promise to former slaves. It's a staple of black history lessons, and it's the name of Spike Lee's film company. The promise was the first systematic attempt to provide a form of reparations to newly freed slaves, and it was astonishingly radical for its time, proto-socialist in its implications. In fact, such a policy would be radical in any country today: the federal government's massive confiscation of private property — some 400,000 acres — formerly owned by Confederate land owners, and its methodical redistribution to former black slaves. What most of us haven't heard is that the idea really was generated by black leaders themselves.

It is difficult to stress adequately how *revolutionary* this idea was: As the historian Eric Foner puts it in his book, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*, "Here in coastal South Carolina and Georgia, the prospect beckoned of a transformation of Southern society more radical even than the end of slavery." Try to imagine how profoundly different the history of race relations in the United States would have been had this policy been implemented and enforced; had the former slaves actually had access to the ownership of land, of property; if they had had a chance to be self-sufficient economically, to build, accrue and pass on *wealth*. After all, one of the principal promises of America was the possibility of average people being able to own *land*, and all that such ownership entailed. As we know all too well, this promise was not to be realized for the overwhelming majority of the nation's former slaves, who numbered about 3.9 million.

What Exactly Was Promised?

General William Tecumseh Sherman in May 1865.  
Portrait by Mathew Brady.



We have been taught in school that the source of the policy of "40 acres and a mule" was Union General William T. Sherman's Special Field Order No. 15, issued on Jan. 16, 1865. (That account is half-right: Sherman prescribed the 40 acres in that Order, but not the mule. The mule would come later.) But what many accounts leave out is that this idea for massive land redistribution actually was the result of a discussion that Sherman and Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton held four days *before* Sherman issued the Order, with 20 leaders of the black community in Savannah, Ga., where Sherman was headquartered

following his famous March to the Sea. The meeting was unprecedented in American history.

Today, we commonly use the phrase “40 acres and a mule,” but few of us have read the Order itself. Three of its parts are relevant here. Section one bears repeating in full: “The islands from Charleston, south, the abandoned rice fields along the rivers for thirty miles back from the sea, and the country bordering the St. Johns river, Florida, are reserved and set apart for the settlement of the negroes [sic] now made free by the acts of war and the proclamation of the President of the United States.”

Section two specifies that these new communities, moreover, would be governed entirely by black people themselves: “ ... on the islands, and in the settlements hereafter to be established, no white person whatever, unless military officers and soldiers detailed for duty, will be permitted to reside; and the sole and exclusive management of affairs will be left to the freed people themselves ... By the laws of war, and orders of the President of the United States, the negro [sic] is free and must be dealt with as such.”

Finally, section three specifies the allocation of land: “ ... each family shall have a plot of not more than (40) acres of tillable ground, and when it borders on some water channel, with not more than 800 feet water front, in the possession of which land the military authorities will afford them protection, until such time as they can protect themselves, or until Congress shall regulate their title.”

With this Order, *400,000 acres* of land — “a strip of coastline stretching from Charleston, South Carolina, to the St. John’s River in Florida, including Georgia’s Sea Islands and the mainland thirty miles in from the coast,” as Barton Myers reports – would be redistributed to the newly freed slaves. The extent of this Order and its larger implications are mind-boggling, actually.

Who Came Up With the Idea?

Here’s how this radical proposal — which must have completely blown the minds of the rebel Confederates — actually came about. The abolitionists Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens and other Radical Republicans had been actively advocating land redistribution “to break the back of Southern slaveholders’ power,” as Myers observed. But Sherman’s plan only took shape after the meeting that he and Stanton held with those black ministers, at 8:00 p.m., Jan. 12, on the second floor of Charles Green’s mansion on Savannah’s Macon Street. In its broadest strokes, “40 acres and a mule” was *their* idea.

Stanton, aware of the great historical significance of the meeting, presented Henry Ward Beecher (Harriet Beecher Stowe’s famous brother) a verbatim transcript of the discussion, which Beecher read to his congregation at New York’s Plymouth Church and which the New York Daily Tribune printed in full in its Feb. 13, 1865, edition. Stanton told Beecher that “for the first time in the history of this

nation, the representatives of the government had gone to these poor debased people to ask them what they wanted for themselves." Stanton had suggested to Sherman that they gather "the leaders of the local Negro community" and ask them something no one else had apparently thought to ask: "What do you want for your own people" following the war? And what they wanted astonishes us even today.

Who were these 20 thoughtful leaders who exhibited such foresight? They were all ministers, mostly Baptist and Methodist. Most curious of all to me is that 11 of the 20 had been born *free* in slave states, of which 10 had lived as free men in the Confederacy during the course of the Civil War. (The other one, a man named James Lynch, was born free in Maryland, a slave state, and had only moved to the South two years before.) The other nine ministers had been slaves in the South who became "contraband," and hence free, only because of the Emancipation Proclamation, when Union forces liberated them.

Their chosen leader and spokesman was a Baptist minister named Garrison Frazier, aged 67, who had been born in Granville, N.C., and was a slave until 1857, "when he purchased freedom for himself and wife for \$1000 in gold and silver," as the New York Daily Tribune reported. Rev. Frazier had been "in the ministry for thirty-five years," and it was he who bore the responsibility of answering the 12 questions that Sherman and Stanton put to the group. The stakes for the future of the Negro people were high.

And Frazier and his brothers did not disappoint. What did they tell Sherman and Stanton that the Negro most wanted? *Land!* "The way we can best take care of ourselves," Rev. Frazier began his answer to the crucial third question, "is to have land, and turn it and till it by our own labor ... and we can soon maintain ourselves and have something to spare ... We want to be placed on land until we are able to buy it and make it our own." And when asked next where the freed slaves "would rather live — whether scattered among the whites or in colonies by themselves," without missing a beat, Brother Frazier (as the transcript calls him) replied that "I would prefer to live by ourselves, for there is a prejudice against us in the South that will take years to get over ..." When polled individually around the table, all but one — James Lynch, 26, the man who had moved south from Baltimore — said that they agreed with Frazier. Four days later, Sherman issued Special Field Order No. 15, after President Lincoln approved it.

#### What Became of the Land That Was Promised?

The response to the Order was immediate. When the transcript of the meeting was reprinted in the black publication *Christian Recorder*, an editorial note intoned that "From this it will be seen that the



colored people down South are not so dumb as many suppose them to be,” reflecting North-South, slave-free black class tensions that continued well into the modern civil rights movement. The effect throughout the South was electric: As Eric Foner explains, “the freedmen hastened to take advantage of the Order.” Baptist minister Ulysses L. Houston, one of the group that had met with Sherman, led 1,000 blacks to Skidaway Island, Ga., where they established a self-governing community with Houston as the “black governor.” And by June, “40,000 freedmen had been settled on 400,000 acres of ‘Sherman Land.’ ” By the way, Sherman later ordered that the army could lend the new settlers mules; hence the phrase, “40 acres and a mule.”

And what happened to this astonishingly visionary program, which would have fundamentally altered the course of American race relations? Andrew Johnson, Lincoln’s successor and a sympathizer with the South, overturned the Order in the fall of 1865, and, as Barton Myers sadly concludes, “returned the land along the South Carolina, Georgia and Florida coasts to the planters who had originally owned it” — to the very people who had declared war on the United States of America.

Comment1:

*“We all need to read these facts and history and force America, first, to apologize publicly for the injustice and indecency endured not only of black slaves, but their descendants for the mental pain, suffering, and disadvantages still experienced today. There will never be any "getting over it" until America rights it's wrongs. This is about acknowledgement as opposed to the constant "sweeping under the rug" syndrome currently expressed. This is not about other races and cultures and immigrants and refugees or any other "peoples" story as a comparison. This is simply and plainly about evening the playing fields for which we have been unjustly positioned since the "abolition of slavery". Next, the government should take the average cost of land in addition to the cost of a mule or horse in America and distribute that amount amongst the descendants of slaves or actually give up the land and the mule. Finally, programs to teach necessary skills should be established and offered free of charge to Blacks in America in order to help them to manage newly acquired resources properly!”*

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Comment2:

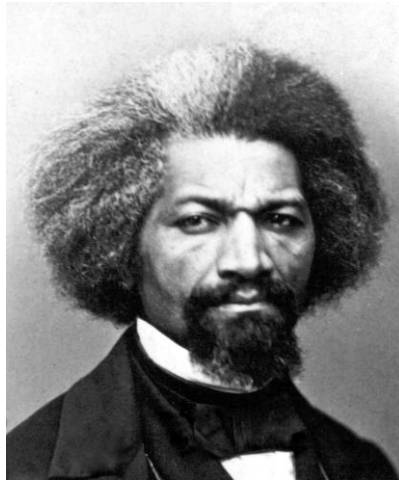
*“What the government should really do is stop the transfer of wealth from one generation to the next, as that's what's been stopping poorer people in general and "black" people in particular from social mobility. It's hard to fight generations of money with basic labor.*

*Although if you were doing that then you may as well go all the way and introduce wage caps and mandatory minimum wages for all, reviving the vestige of equality. That would simultaneously move a lot*

*of people out of poverty, and even the playing field to once again allow people to rise or fall as dictated by their abilities and not their circumstance.*

*The USA needs to get past the idea of benefiting off of someone else's labor. Once that has happened, then slavery will truly be behind it."*

## FREDERICK DOUGLASS



Frederick Douglass (1818-95) was a prominent American abolitionist, author and orator. Born a slave, Douglass escaped at age 20 and went on to become a world-renowned anti-slavery activist. His three autobiographies are considered important works of the slave narrative tradition as well as classics of American autobiography. Douglass' work as a reformer ranged from his abolitionist activities in the early 1840s to his attacks on Jim Crow and lynching in the 1890s. For 16 years he edited an influential black newspaper and achieved international fame as an inspiring and persuasive speaker and writer. In thousands of speeches and editorials, he levied a powerful indictment against slavery and racism, provided an indomitable voice of hope for his people, embraced antislavery politics and preached his own brand of American ideals.

An abolitionist, writer and orator Frederick Douglass was the most important black American leader of the nineteenth century. Born Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey on Maryland's Eastern Shore, he was the son of a slave woman and, probably, her white master. Upon his escape from slavery at age twenty, he adopted the name of the hero of Sir Walter Scott's *The Lady of the Lake*. Douglass immortalized his years as a slave in *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (1845). This and two subsequent autobiographies, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855) and *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (1881), mark his greatest contributions to American culture. Written as antislavery propaganda and personal revelation, they are regarded as the finest examples of the slave narrative tradition and as classics of American autobiography.

*After his autobiography was published, Douglass went on a two-year speaking tour of Great Britain and Ireland in order to avoid recapture by his former owner, whose name and location Douglass had mentioned in the narrative.*

Douglass's life as a reformer ranged from his abolitionist activities in the early 1840s to his attacks on Jim Crow and lynching in the 1890s. For sixteen years he edited an influential black newspaper and achieved international fame as an orator and writer of great persuasive power. In thousands of speeches and editorials he levied an irresistible indictment against slavery and racism, provided an indomitable voice of hope for his people, embraced antislavery politics, and preached his own brand of American ideals. In the 1850s he broke with the strictly moralist brand of abolitionism led by William Lloyd Garrison; he supported the early women's rights movement; and he gave direct assistance to John Brown's conspiracy that led to the raid on Harpers Ferry in 1859.

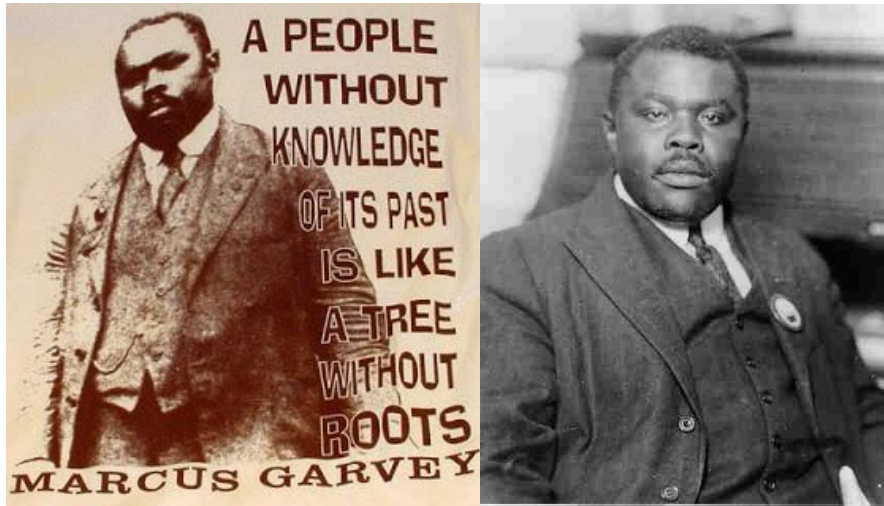
Rhetorically, Douglass was a master of irony, as illustrated by his famous Fourth of July speech in 1852: "This Fourth of July is *yours*, not *mine*. You may rejoice, *I* must mourn," he declared. Then he accused his unsuspecting audience in Rochester, New York, of mockery for inviting him to speak and quoted Psalm 137, where the children of Israel are forced to sit down "by the rivers of Babylon," there to "sing the Lord's song in a strange land." For the ways that race have caused the deepest contradictions in American history, few better sources of insight exist than Douglass's speeches. Moreover, for understanding prejudice, there are few better starting points than his timeless definition of racism as a "diseased imagination."

Douglass welcomed the Civil War in 1861 as a moral crusade against slavery. During the war he labored as a propagandist of the Union cause and emancipation, a recruiter of black troops, and (on two occasions) an adviser to President Abraham Lincoln. He viewed the Union victory as an apocalyptic rebirth of America as a nation rooted in a rewritten Constitution and the ideal of racial equality. Some of his hopes were dashed during Reconstruction and the Gilded Age, but he continued to travel widely and lecture on racial issues, national politics, and women's rights. In the 1870s Douglass moved to Washington, D.C., where he edited a newspaper and became president of the ill-fated Freedman's Bank. As a stalwart Republican, Douglass was appointed marshal (1877-1881) and recorder of deeds (1881-1886) for the District of Columbia, and chargé d'affaires for Santo Domingo and minister to Haiti (1889-1891).

Brilliant, heroic, and complex, Douglass became a symbol of his age and a unique voice for humanism and social justice. His life and thought will always speak profoundly to the meaning of being black in America, as well as the human calling to resist oppression. Douglass died in 1895 after years of trying to preserve a black abolitionist's meaning and memory of the great events he had witnessed and helped to shape.

## MARCUS GARVEY

Civil Rights Activist (1887–1940)



## QUOTES

“Hungry men have no respect for law, authority or human life.”

—Marcus Garvey

Marcus Garvey - Mini Biography (N/A; 04:04) Marcus Garvey was an orator for the Black Nationalism and Pan-Africanism movements. Garvey advanced a Pan-African philosophy which inspired a global mass movement, known as Garveyism.

### Synopsis

Born in Jamaica, Marcus Garvey was an orator for the Black Nationalism and Pan-Africanism movements, to which end he founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League. Garvey advanced a Pan-African philosophy which inspired a global mass movement, known as Garveyism. Garveyism would eventually inspire others, from the Nation of Islam to the Rastafari movement.

## Early Life

Social activist Marcus Mosiah Garvey, Jr. was born on August 17, 1887, in St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica. Self-educated, Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association, dedicated to promoting African-Americans and resettlement in Africa. In the United States he launched several businesses to promote a separate black nation. After he was convicted of mail fraud and deported back to Jamaica, he continued his work for black repatriation to Africa.

Marcus Mosiah Garvey was the last of 11 children born to Marcus Garvey, Sr. and Sarah Jane Richards. His father was a stone mason, and his mother a domestic worker and farmer. Garvey, Sr. was a great influence on Marcus, who once described him as "severe, firm, determined, bold, and strong, refusing to yield even to superior forces if he believed he was right." His father was known to have a large library, where young Garvey learned to read.

At age 14, Marcus became a printer's apprentice. In 1903, he traveled to Kingston, Jamaica, and soon became involved in union activities. In 1907, he took part in an unsuccessful printer's strike and the experience kindled in him a passion for political activism. Three years later, he traveled throughout Central America working as a newspaper editor and writing about the exploitation of migrant workers in the plantations. He later traveled to London where he attended Birkbeck College (University of London) and worked for the *African Times and Orient Review*, which advocated Pan-African nationalism.

## Founding the United Negro Improvement Association

Inspired by these experiences, Marcus Garvey returned to Jamaica in 1912 and founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) with the goal of uniting all of African diaspora to "establish a country and absolute government of their own." After corresponding with Booker T. Washington, the American educator who founded Tuskegee Institute, Garvey traveled to the United States in 1916 to raise funds for a similar venture in Jamaica. He settled in New York City and formed a UNIA chapter in Harlem to promote a separatist philosophy of social, political, and economic freedom for blacks. In 1918, Garvey began publishing the widely distributed newspaper *Negro World* to convey his message.

By 1919, Marcus Garvey and UNIA had launched the Black Star Line, a shipping company that would establish trade and commerce between Africans in America, the Caribbean, South and Central America, Canada and Africa. At the same time, Garvey started the Negroes Factories Association, a series of companies that would manufacture marketable commodities in every big industrial center in the Western hemisphere and Africa.

In August 1920, UNIA claimed 4 million members and held its first International Convention at Madison Square Garden in New York City. Before a crowd of 25,000 people from all over world, Marcus Garvey spoke of having pride in African history and culture. Many found his words inspiring, but not all. Some established black leaders found his separatist philosophy ill-conceived. W.E.B. Du Bois, a prominent black leader and officer of the N.A.A.C.P. called Garvey, "the most dangerous enemy of the Negro race in America." Garvey felt Du Bois was an agent of the white elite.

### *Charges and Loss of Authority*

In 1922, Marcus Garvey and three other UNIA officials were charged with mail fraud involving the Black Star Line. The trial records indicate several improprieties occurred in the prosecution of the case. It didn't help that the shipping line's books contained many accounting irregularities. On June 23, 1923, Garvey was convicted and sentenced to prison for five years. Claiming to be a victim of a politically motivated miscarriage of justice, Garvey appealed his conviction, but was denied. In 1927 he was released from prison and deported to Jamaica.

Garvey continued his political activism and the work of UNIA in Jamaica, and then moved to London in 1935. But he did not command the same influence he had earlier. Perhaps in desperation or maybe in delusion, Garvey collaborated with outspoken segregationist and white supremacist Senator Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi to promote a reparations scheme. The Greater Liberia Act of 1939 would deport 12 million African-Americans to Liberia at federal expense to relieve unemployment. The act failed in Congress, and Garvey lost even more support among the black population.

### *Death and Legacy*

Marcus Garvey died in London in 1940 after several strokes. Due to travel restrictions during World War II, his body was interred in London. In 1964, his remains were exhumed and taken to Jamaica, where the government proclaimed him Jamaica's first national hero and re-interred him at a shrine in the National Heroes Park. But his memory and influence remain. His message of pride and dignity inspired many in the early days of the Civil Rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s. In tribute to his many contributions, Garvey's bust has been displayed in the Organization of American States' Hall of Heroes in Washington, D.C. The country of Ghana has named its shipping line the Black Star Line and its national soccer team the Black Stars, in honor of Garvey.

## **BLACK HISTORY**

Each year in the United States, February is dedicated as Black History Month. What began as the grassroots effort of African-American historian Carter G. Woodson has grown into a national time to honor the triumphs and struggles of African Americans throughout history.

### **BLACK HISTORY MONTH**

Black History Month, or National African American History Month, is an annual celebration of achievements by black Americans and a time for recognizing the central role of African Americans in U.S. history. The event grew out of “Negro History Week,” the brainchild of noted historian Carter G. Woodson and other prominent African Americans. Since 1976, every U.S. president has officially designated the month of February as Black History Month. Other countries around the world, including Canada and the United Kingdom, also devote a month to celebrating black history.

### **ORIGINS OF BLACK HISTORY MONTH**

The story of Black History Month begins in 1915, half a century after the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery in the United States. That September, the Harvard-trained historian Carter G. Woodson and the prominent minister Jesse E. Moorland founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH), an organization dedicated to researching and promoting achievements by black Americans and other peoples of African descent. Known today as the Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH), the group sponsored a national Negro History week in 1926, choosing the second week of February to coincide with the birthdays of Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass. The event inspired schools and communities nationwide to organize local celebrations, establish history clubs and host performances and lectures.



***The NAACP was founded on February 12, 1909, the centennial anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln.***

In the decades that followed, mayors of cities across the country began issuing yearly proclamations recognizing Negro History Week. By the late 1960s, thanks in part to the Civil Rights Movement and a growing awareness of black identity, Negro History Week had evolved into Black History Month on many college campuses. President Gerald R. Ford officially recognized Black History Month in 1976, calling upon the public to “seize the opportunity to honor the too-often neglected accomplishments of black Americans in every area of endeavor throughout our history.”

Since then, every American president has designated February as Black History Month and endorsed a specific theme. The 2013 theme, At the Crossroads of Freedom and Equality: The Emancipation Proclamation and the March on Washington, marks the 150th and 50th anniversaries of two pivotal events in African-American history.

## **THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT**

The 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution officially abolished slavery in America, and was ratified on December 6, 1865, after the conclusion of the American Civil War. The amendment states: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

### **LINCOLN ISSUES EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION**

When the American Civil War (1861-65) began, President Abraham Lincoln (1809-65) carefully framed the conflict as concerning the preservation of the Union rather than the abolition of slavery. Although he personally found the practice of slavery abhorrent, he knew that neither Northerners nor the residents of the border slave states would support abolition as a war aim. However, by mid-1862, as thousands of slaves fled to join the invading Northern armies, Lincoln was convinced that abolition had become a sound military strategy, as well as the morally correct path. On September 22, soon after the Union victory at the Battle of Antietam in Maryland, he issued a preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, declaring that as of January 1, 1863, all slaves in the rebellious states "shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free." While the Emancipation Proclamation did not free a single slave (there were an estimated 800,000 slaves in border states and some 3 million more in Confederate states), it was an important turning point in the war, transforming the fight to preserve the nation into a battle for human freedom.

*President Abraham Lincoln was assassinated on April 15, 1865, eight months before the 13th Amendment was officially adopted in December 1865.*

### **THE 13TH AMENDMENT: RATIFICATION**

The president and his fellow Republicans knew that the Emancipation Proclamation might be viewed as a temporary war measure and not outlaw slavery once the Civil War ended, so they focused on passing a constitutional amendment that would do so. The 13th Amendment was passed by the U.S. Senate (which was dominated by Republicans) on April 8, 1864. However, the amendment died in the U.S. House of Representatives as Democrats rallied in the name of states' rights.

The presidential election of 1864 brought Lincoln back to the White House along with Republican majorities in both legislative bodies. On January 31, 1865, the amendment passed in the U.S. House of Representatives by a vote of 119 to 56, seven votes above the necessary two-thirds majority. Several

Democrats abstained, but the 13th Amendment was sent to the states for ratification, which came on December 6, 1865. With the passage of the amendment, the “peculiar institution” that had indelibly shaped American history was eradicated.

## EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

When the American Civil War (1861-65) began, President Abraham Lincoln carefully framed the conflict as concerning the preservation of the Union rather than the abolition of slavery. Although he personally found the practice of slavery abhorrent, he knew that neither Northerners nor the residents of the border slave states would support abolition as a war aim. But by mid-1862, as thousands of slaves fled to join the invading Northern armies, Lincoln was convinced that abolition had become a sound military strategy, as well as the morally correct path. On September 22, soon after the Union victory at Antietam, he issued a preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, declaring that as of January 1, 1863, all slaves in the rebellious states “shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free.” While the Emancipation Proclamation did not free a single slave, it was an important turning point in the war, transforming the fight to preserve the nation into a battle for human freedom.

### LINCOLN’S POSITION ON SLAVERY

Slavery was “an unqualified evil to the negro, the white man, and the State,” said Abraham Lincoln in the 1850s. Yet in his first inaugural address, Lincoln declared that he had “no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with slavery in the States where it exists.” He reiterated this pledge in his first message to Congress on July 4, 1861, when the Civil War was three months old.

*When it took effect in January 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation freed 3.1 million of the nation's 4 million slaves.*

What explains this apparent inconsistency in Lincoln’s statements? And how did he get from his pledge not to interfere with slavery to a decision a year later to issue an emancipation proclamation? The answers lie in the Constitution and in the course of the Civil War. As an individual, Lincoln hated slavery. As a Republican, he wished to exclude it from the territories as the first step to putting the institution “in the course of ultimate extinction.” But as president of the United States, Lincoln was bound by a Constitution that protected slavery in any state where citizens wanted it. As commander in chief of the armed forces in the Civil War, Lincoln also worried about the support of the four border slave states and the Northern Democrats. These groups probably would have turned against the war for the Union if the Republicans had made a move against slavery in 1861.

## **CONTRABANDS AND THE CONFISCATION ACTS**

But the president's role as commander in chief cut two ways. If it restrained him from alienating proslavery Unionists, it also empowered him to seize enemy property used to wage war against the United States. Slaves were the most conspicuous and valuable such property. They raised food and fiber for the Southern war effort, worked in munitions factories, and served as teamsters and laborers in the army. Gen. Benjamin Butler, commander of Union forces occupying a foothold in Virginia at Fortress Monroe on the mouth of the James River, provided a legal rationale for the seizure of slave property. When three slaves who had worked on rebel fortifications escaped to Butler's lines in May 1861, he declared them contraband of war and refused to return them to their Confederate owner. Here was an opening wedge for emancipation, and hundreds of such "contrabands" voted with their feet for freedom by escaping to Union lines in subsequent months. By 1862 the trickle had become a flood. Some Union commanders gave them shelter and protection; others returned them to masters who could prove their loyalty to the United States. In August 1861 Congress passed a confiscation act that conferred "contraband" status on all slaves who had been used in direct support of the Confederate war effort. In March 1862 Congress enacted a new article of war forbidding army officers to return fugitive slaves to their masters. Before the war was a year old, therefore, the slaves themselves had taken the initiative that forced Northern authorities to move toward making it a war for freedom.

## **THE MOVE TOWARDS EMANCIPATION**

Most Republicans had become convinced by 1862 that the war against a slaveholders' rebellion must become a war against slavery itself, and they put increasing pressure on Lincoln to proclaim an emancipation policy. This would have comported with Lincoln's personal convictions, but as president he felt compelled to balance these convictions against the danger of alienating half of the Union constituency. By the summer of 1862, however, it was clear that he risked alienating the Republican half of his constituency if he did not act against slavery.

Moreover, the war was going badly for the Union. After a string of military victories in the early months of 1862, Northern armies suffered demoralizing reverses in July and August. The argument that emancipation was a military necessity became increasingly persuasive. It would weaken the Confederacy and correspondingly strengthen the Union by siphoning off part of the Southern labor force and adding this manpower to the Northern side. In July 1862 Congress enacted two laws based on this premise: a second confiscation act that freed slaves of persons who had engaged in rebellion against the United States, and a militia act that empowered the president to use freed slaves in the army in any capacity he saw fit—even as soldiers.

By this time Lincoln had decided on an even more dramatic measure: a proclamation issued as commander in chief freeing all slaves in states waging war against the Union. As he told a member of his cabinet, emancipation had become “a military necessity.... We must free the slaves or be ourselves subdued.... The Administration must set an example, and strike at the heart of the rebellion.” The cabinet agreed, but Secretary of State William H. Seward persuaded Lincoln to withhold the proclamation until a major Union military victory could give it added force. Lincoln used the delay to help prepare conservative opinion for what was coming. In a letter to journalist Horace Greeley, published in the New York Tribune on August 22, 1862, the president reiterated that his “paramount object in the struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery.” If he could accomplish this objective by freeing all, some, or none of the slaves, that was what he would do. Lincoln had already decided to free some and was in effect forewarning potential opponents of the Emancipation Proclamation that they must accept it as a necessary measure to save the Union. In a publicized meeting with black residents of Washington, also in 1862, Lincoln urged them to consider emigrating abroad to escape the prejudice they encountered and to help persuade conservatives that the much-feared racial consequences of emancipation might be thereby mitigated.

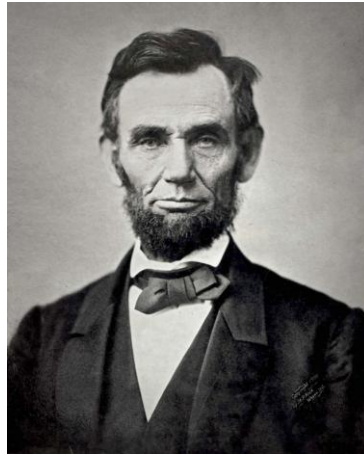
## **LINCOLN ISSUES THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION**

One month later, after the qualified Union victory in the Battle of Antietam, Lincoln issued a preliminary proclamation warning that in all states still in rebellion on January 1, 1863, he would declare their slaves “then, thenceforward, and forever free.” January 1 came, and with it the final proclamation, which committed the government and armed forces of the United States to liberate the slaves in rebel states “as an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity.” The proclamation exempted the border slave states and all or parts of three Confederate states controlled by the Union army on the grounds that these areas were not in rebellion against the United States. Lincoln had tried earlier to persuade the border states to accept gradual emancipation, with compensation to slave owners from the federal government, but they had refused. The proclamation also authorized the recruitment of freed slaves and free blacks as Union soldiers; during the next 2 1/2 years 180,000 of them fought in the Union army and 10,000 in the navy, making a vital contribution to Union victory as well as their own freedom. Emancipation would vastly increase the stakes of the war. It became a war for “a new birth of freedom,” as Lincoln stated in the Gettysburg Address, a war that would transform Southern society by destroying its basic institution.

## **THE THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT**

Meanwhile Lincoln and the Republican party recognized that the Emancipation Proclamation, as a war measure, might have no constitutional validity once the war was over. The legal framework of slavery would still exist in the former Confederate states as well as in the Union slave states that had been exempted from the proclamation. So the party committed itself to a constitutional amendment to abolish slavery. The overwhelmingly Republican Senate passed the Thirteenth Amendment by more than the necessary two-thirds majority on April 8, 1864. But not until January 31, 1865, did enough Democrats in the House abstain or vote for the amendment to pass it by a bare two-thirds. By December 18, 1865, the requisite three-quarters of the states had ratified the Thirteenth Amendment, which ensured that forever after “neither slavery nor involuntary servitude ... shall exist within the United States.”

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN



Abraham Lincoln, a self-taught Illinois lawyer and legislator with a reputation as an eloquent opponent of slavery, shocked many when he overcame several more prominent contenders to win the Republican Party's nomination for president in 1860. His election that November pushed several Southern states to secede by the time of his inauguration in March 1861, and the Civil War began barely a month later. Contrary to expectations, Lincoln proved to be a shrewd military strategist and a savvy leader during what became the costliest conflict ever fought on American soil. His Emancipation Proclamation, issued in 1863, freed all slaves in the rebellious states and paved the way for slavery's eventual abolition, while his Gettysburg Address later that year stands as one of the most famous and influential pieces of oratory in American history. In April 1865, with the Union on the brink of victory, Abraham Lincoln was shot and killed by the Confederate sympathizer John Wilkes Booth; his untimely death made him a martyr to the cause of liberty and Union. Over the years Lincoln's mythic stature has only grown, and he is widely regarded as one of the greatest presidents in the nation's history.

### ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S EARLY LIFE

Lincoln was born on February 12, 1809, in a one-room log cabin in Hardin County, Kentucky; his family moved to southern Indiana in 1816. Lincoln's formal schooling was limited to three brief periods in local schools, as he had to work constantly to support his family. In 1830, his family moved to Macon County in southern Illinois, and Lincoln got a job working on a river flatboat hauling freight down the Mississippi River to New Orleans. After settling in the town of New Salem, Illinois, where he worked as a shopkeeper and a postmaster, Lincoln became involved in local politics as a supporter of



the Whig Party, winning election to the Illinois state legislature in 1834. Like his Whig heroes, Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, Lincoln opposed the spread of slavery to the territories, and had a grand vision of the expanding United States, with a focus on commerce and cities rather than agriculture.

*The war years were difficult for Abraham Lincoln and his family. After his young son Willie died of typhoid fever in 1862, the emotionally fragile Mary Lincoln, widely unpopular for her frivolity and spendthrift ways, held seances in the White House in the hopes of communicating with him, earning her even more derision.*

Lincoln taught himself law, passing the bar examination in 1836. The following year, he moved to the newly named state capital of Springfield. For the next few years, he worked there as a lawyer, earning a reputation as “Honest Abe” and serving clients ranging from individual residents of small towns to national railroad lines. He met Mary Todd, a well-to-do Kentucky belle with many suitors (including Lincoln’s future political rival, Stephen Douglas), and they married in 1842.

#### LINCOLN’S ROAD TO THE WHITE HOUSE

Lincoln won election to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1846 and began serving his term the following year. As a congressman, Lincoln was unpopular with Illinois voters for his strong stance against the U.S. war with Mexico. Promising not to seek reelection, he returned to Springfield in 1849. Events conspired to push him back into national politics, however: Douglas, a leading Democrat in Congress, had pushed through the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), which declared that the voters of each territory, rather than the federal government, had the right to decide whether the territory should be slave or free. On October 16, 1854, Lincoln went before a large crowd in Peoria to debate the merits of the Kansas-Nebraska Act with Douglas, denouncing slavery and its extension and calling the institution a violation of the most basic tenets of the Declaration of Independence.

With the Whig Party in ruins, Lincoln joined the new Republican Party—formed largely in opposition to slavery’s extension into the territories—in 1858 and ran for the Senate again that year (he had campaigned unsuccessfully for the seat in 1855 as well). In June, Lincoln delivered his now-famous “house divided” speech, in which he quoted from the Gospels to illustrate his belief that “this government cannot endure, permanently, half slave and half free.” Lincoln then squared off against Douglas in a series of famous debates; though he lost the election, Lincoln’s performance made his reputation nationally. His profile rose even higher in early 1860, after he delivered another rousing speech at New York City’s Cooper Union. That May, Republicans chose Lincoln as their candidate for president, passing over Senator William H. Seward of New York and other powerful contenders in favor of the rangy Illinois lawyer with only one undistinguished congressional term under his belt.

## A WARTIME PRESIDENT

In the general election, Lincoln again faced Douglas, who represented the northern Democrats; southern Democrats had nominated John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky, while John Bell ran for the brand new Constitutional Union Party. With Breckenridge and Bell splitting the vote in the South, Lincoln won most of the North and carried the Electoral College. After years of sectional tensions, the election of an antislavery northerner as the 16th president of the United States drove many southerners over the brink, and by the time Lincoln was inaugurated in March 1861 seven southern states had seceded from the Union and formed the Confederate States of America. After Lincoln ordered a fleet of Union ships to supply South Carolina's Fort Sumter in April, the Confederates fired on both the fort and the Union fleet, beginning the Civil War. Hopes for a quick Union victory were dashed by defeat in the Battle of Bull Run (Manassas), and Lincoln called for 500,000 more troops as both sides settled in for a long conflict.

While the Confederate leader Jefferson Davis was a West Point graduate, Mexican War hero and former secretary of war, Lincoln had only a brief and undistinguished period of service in the Black Hawk War (1832) to his credit. He surprised many by proving to be a more than capable wartime leader, learning quickly about strategy and tactics in the early years of the Civil War, and about choosing the ablest commanders. General George McClellan, though beloved by his troops, continually frustrated Lincoln with his reluctance to advance, and when McClellan failed to pursue Robert E. Lee's retreating Confederate Army in the aftermath of the Union victory at Antietam in September 1862, Lincoln removed him from command. During the war, Lincoln drew criticism for suspending some civil liberties, including the right of habeas corpus, but he considered such measures necessary to win the war.

## EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION AND GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

Shortly after the Battle of Antietam (Sharpsburg), Lincoln issued a preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which took effect on January 1, 1863, and freed all of the slaves in the rebellious states but left those in the border states (loyal to the Union) in bondage. Though Lincoln once maintained that his "paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery," he nonetheless came to regard emancipation as one of his greatest achievements, and would argue for the passage of a constitutional amendment outlawing slavery (eventually passed as the 13th Amendment after his death in 1865).

Two important Union victories in July 1863—at Vicksburg, Mississippi, and Gettysburg, Pennsylvania—finally turned the tide of the war. General George Meade missed the opportunity to deliver a final blow against Lee’s army at Gettysburg, and Lincoln would turn by early 1864 to the victor at Vicksburg, Ulysses S. Grant, as supreme commander of the Union forces. In November 1863, Lincoln delivered a brief speech (just 272 words) at the dedication ceremony for the new national cemetery at Gettysburg. Published widely, the Gettysburg Address eloquently expressed the war’s purpose, harking back to the Founding Fathers, the Declaration of Independence and the pursuit of human equality. It became the most famous speech of Lincoln’s presidency, and one of the most widely quoted speeches in history.

## VICTORY AND DEATH

In 1864, Lincoln faced a tough reelection battle against the Democratic nominee, the former Union General George McClellan, but Union victories in battle (especially William T. Sherman’s capture of Atlanta in September) swung many votes the president’s way. In his second inaugural address, delivered on March 4, 1865, Lincoln addressed the need to reconstruct the South and rebuild the Union: “With malice toward none; with charity for all.”

As Sherman marched triumphantly northward through the Carolinas, Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Court House on April 9. Union victory was near, and Lincoln gave a speech on the White House lawn on April 11, urging his audience to welcome the southern states back into the fold. Tragically, Lincoln would not live to help carry out his vision of Reconstruction. On the night of April 14, the actor and Confederate sympathizer John Wilkes Booth slipped into the president’s box at Ford’s Theatre in Washington and shot him point-blank in the back of the head. Lincoln was carried to a boardinghouse across the street from the theater, but he never regained consciousness, and died in the early morning hours of April 15.

## RECONSTRUCTION

The Union victory in the Civil War in 1865 may have given some 4 million slaves their freedom, but the process of rebuilding the South during the Reconstruction period (1865-1877) introduced a new set of significant challenges. Under the administration of President Andrew Johnson in 1865 and 1866, new southern state legislatures passed restrictive “black codes” to control the labor and behavior of former slaves and other African Americans. Outrage in the North over these codes eroded support for the approach known as Presidential Reconstruction and led to the triumph of the more radical wing of the Republican Party. During Radical Reconstruction, which began in 1867, newly enfranchised blacks gained a voice in government for the first time in American history, winning election to southern state legislatures and even to the U.S. Congress. In less than a decade, however, reactionary forces—including the Ku Klux Klan—would reverse the changes wrought by Radical Reconstruction in a violent backlash that restored white supremacy in the South.

### EMANCIPATION AND RECONSTRUCTION

At the outset of the Civil War, to the dismay of the more radical abolitionists in the North, President Abraham Lincoln did not make abolition of slavery a goal of the Union war effort. To do so, he feared, would drive the border slave states still loyal to the Union into the Confederacy and anger more conservative northerners. By the summer of 1862, however, the slaves themselves had pushed the issue, heading by the thousands to the Union lines as Lincoln’s troops marched through the South. Their actions debunked one of the strongest myths underlying Southern devotion to the “peculiar institution”—that many slaves were truly content in bondage—and convinced Lincoln that emancipation had become a political and military necessity. In response to Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation, which freed more than 3 million slaves in the Confederate states by January 1, 1863, blacks enlisted in the Union Army in large numbers, reaching some 180,000 by war’s end.

*During Reconstruction, the Republican Party in the South represented a coalition of blacks (who made up the overwhelming majority of Republican voters in the region) along with "carpetbaggers" and "scalawags," as white Republicans from the North and South, respectively, were known.*

Emancipation changed the stakes of the Civil War, ensuring that a Union victory would mean large-scale social revolution in the South. It was still very unclear, however, what form this revolution would take. Over the next several years, Lincoln considered ideas about how to welcome the devastated South back into the Union, but as the war drew to a close in early 1865 he still had no clear plan. In a speech delivered on April 11, while referring to plans for Reconstruction in Louisiana, Lincoln

proposed that some blacks—including free blacks and those who had enlisted in the military—deserved the right to vote. He was assassinated three days later, however, and it would fall to his successor to put plans for Reconstruction in place.

## PRESIDENTIAL RECONSTRUCTION

At the end of May 1865, President Andrew Johnson announced his plans for Reconstruction, which reflected both his staunch Unionism and his firm belief in states' rights. In Johnson's view, the southern states had never given up their right to govern themselves, and the federal government had no right to determine voting requirements or other questions at the state level. Under Johnson's Presidential Reconstruction, all land that had been confiscated by the Union Army and distributed to the freed slaves by the army or the Freedmen's Bureau (established by Congress in 1865) reverted to its prewar owners. Apart from being required to uphold the abolition of slavery (in compliance with the 13th Amendment to the Constitution), swear loyalty to the Union and pay off war debt, southern state governments were given free reign to rebuild themselves.

As a result of Johnson's leniency, many southern states in 1865 and 1866 successfully enacted a series of laws known as the "black codes," which were designed to restrict freed blacks' activity and ensure their availability as a labor force. These repressive codes enraged many in the North, including numerous members of Congress, which refused to seat congressmen and senators elected from the southern states. In early 1866, Congress passed the Freedmen's Bureau and Civil Rights Bills and sent them to Johnson for his signature. The first bill extended the life of the bureau, originally established as a temporary organization charged with assisting refugees and freed slaves, while the second defined all persons born in the United States as national citizens who were to enjoy equality before the law. After Johnson vetoed the bills—causing a permanent rupture in his relationship with Congress that would culminate in his impeachment in 1868—the Civil Rights Act became the first major bill to become law over presidential veto.

## RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION

After northern voters rejected Johnson's policies in the congressional elections in late 1866, Republicans in Congress took firm hold of Reconstruction in the South. The following March, again over Johnson's veto, Congress passed the Reconstruction Act of 1867, which temporarily divided the South into five military districts and outlined how governments based on universal (male) suffrage were to be organized. The law also required southern states to ratify the 14th Amendment, which broadened the definition of citizenship, granting "equal protection" of the Constitution to former slaves, before they could rejoin the Union. In February 1869, Congress approved the 15th Amendment

(adopted in 1870), which guaranteed that a citizen's right to vote would not be denied "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

By 1870, all of the former Confederate states had been admitted to the Union, and the state constitutions during the years of Radical Reconstruction were the most progressive in the region's history. African-American participation in southern public life after 1867 would be by far the most radical development of Reconstruction, which was essentially a large-scale experiment in interracial democracy unlike that of any other society following the abolition of slavery. Blacks won election to southern state governments and even to the U.S. Congress during this period. Among the other achievements of Reconstruction were the South's first state-funded public school systems, more equitable taxation legislation, laws against racial discrimination in public transport and accommodations and ambitious economic development programs (including aid to railroads and other enterprises).

## RECONSTRUCTION COMES TO AN END

After 1867, an increasing number of southern whites turned to violence in response to the revolutionary changes of Radical Reconstruction. The Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacist organizations targeted local Republican leaders, white and black, and other African Americans who challenged white authority. Though federal legislation passed during the administration of President Ulysses S. Grant in 1871 took aim at the Klan and others who attempted to interfere with black suffrage and other political rights, white supremacy gradually reasserted its hold on the South after the early 1870s as support for Reconstruction waned. Racism was still a potent force in both South and North, and Republicans became more conservative and less egalitarian as the decade continued. In 1874—after an economic depression plunged much of the South into poverty—the Democratic Party won control of the House of Representatives for the first time since the Civil War.

When Democrats waged a campaign of violence to take control of Mississippi in 1875, Grant refused to send federal troops, marking the end of federal support for Reconstruction-era state governments in the South. By 1876, only Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina were still in Republican hands. In the contested presidential election that year, Republican candidate Rutherford B. Hayes reached a compromise with Democrats in Congress: In exchange for certification of his election, he acknowledged Democratic control of the entire South. The Compromise of 1876 marked the end of Reconstruction as a distinct period, but the struggle to deal with the revolution ushered in by slavery's eradication would continue in the South and elsewhere long after that date. A century later, the legacy of Reconstruction would be revived during the civil rights movement of the 1960s, as African Americans fought for the political, economic and social equality that had long been denied them.

## MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.



Martin Luther King Jr. (1929-1968) was a Baptist minister and social activist who played a key role in the American civil rights movement from the mid-1950s until his assassination in 1968. Inspired by advocates of nonviolence such as Mahatma Gandhi, King sought equality for African Americans, the economically disadvantaged and victims of injustice through peaceful protest. He was the driving force behind watershed events such as the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the March on Washington, which helped bring about such landmark legislation as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. King was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964 and is remembered each year on Martin Luther King Jr. Day, a U.S. federal holiday since 1986.

### MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.: EARLY YEARS AND FAMILY

The second child of Martin Luther King Sr. (1899-1984), a pastor, and Alberta Williams King (1904-1974), a former schoolteacher, Martin Luther King Jr. was born in Atlanta, Georgia, on January 15, 1929. Along with his older sister, the future Christine King Farris (born 1927), and younger brother, Alfred Daniel Williams King (1930-1969), he grew up in the city's Sweet Auburn neighborhood, then home to some of the most prominent and prosperous African Americans in the country.

*The final section of Martin Luther King Jr.'s eloquent and iconic "I Have a Dream" speech is believed to have been largely improvised.*

A gifted student, King attended segregated public schools and at the age of 15 was admitted to Morehouse College, the alma mater of both his father and maternal grandfather, where he studied medicine and law. Although he had not intended to follow in his father's footsteps by joining the

ministry, he changed his mind under the mentorship of Morehouse's president, Dr. Benjamin Mays, an influential theologian and outspoken advocate for racial equality. After graduating in 1948, King entered Crozer Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania, where he earned a Bachelor of Divinity degree, won a prestigious fellowship and was elected president of his predominantly white senior class.

King then enrolled in a graduate program at Boston University, completing his coursework in 1953 and earning a doctorate in systematic theology two years later. While in Boston he met Coretta Scott (1927-2006), a young singer from Alabama who was studying at the New England Conservatory of Music. The couple wed in 1953 and settled in Montgomery, Alabama, where King became pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. They had four children: Yolanda Denise King (1955-2007), Martin Luther King III (born 1957), Dexter Scott King (born 1961) and Bernice Albertine King (born 1963).

#### MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. AND THE MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT

The King family had been living in Montgomery for less than a year when the highly segregated city became the epicenter of the burgeoning struggle for civil rights in America, galvanized by the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision of 1954. On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks (1913-2005), secretary of the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People chapter, refused to give up her seat to a white passenger on a Montgomery bus and was arrested. Activists coordinated a bus boycott that would continue for 381 days, placing a severe economic strain on the public transit system and downtown business owners. They chose Martin Luther King Jr. as the protest's leader and official spokesman.

By the time the Supreme Court ruled segregated seating on public buses unconstitutional in November 1956, King, heavily influenced by Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) and the activist Bayard Rustin (1912-1987), had entered the national spotlight as an inspirational proponent of organized, nonviolent resistance. (He had also become a target for white supremacists, who firebombed his family home that January.) Emboldened by the boycott's success, in 1957 he and other civil rights activists—most of them fellow ministers—founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), a group committed to achieving full equality for African Americans through nonviolence. (Its motto was “Not one hair of one head of one person should be harmed.”) He would remain at the helm of this influential organization until his death.

#### KING AND THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

In his role as SCLC president, Martin Luther King Jr. traveled across the country and around the world, giving lectures on nonviolent protest and civil rights as well as meeting with religious figures, activists and political leaders. (During a month-long trip to India in 1959, he had the opportunity to meet



Gandhi, the man he described in his autobiography as “the guiding light of our technique of nonviolent social change.”) King also authored several books and articles during this time.

In 1960 King and his family moved to Atlanta, his native city, where he joined his father as co-pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church. This new position did not stop King and his SCLC colleagues from becoming key players in many of the most significant civil rights battles of the 1960s. Their philosophy of nonviolence was put to a particularly severe test during the Birmingham campaign of 1963, in which activists used a boycott, sit-ins and marches to protest segregation, unfair hiring practices and other injustices in one of America’s most racially divided cities. Arrested for his involvement on April 12, King penned the civil rights manifesto known as the “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” an eloquent defense of civil disobedience addressed to a group of white clergymen who had criticized his tactics.

#### KING MARCHES FOR FREEDOM

Later that year, Martin Luther King Jr. worked with a number of civil rights and religious groups to organize the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, a peaceful political rally designed to shed light on the injustices African Americans continued to face across the country. Held on August 28 and attended by some 200,000 to 300,000 participants, the event is widely regarded as a watershed moment in the history of the American civil rights movement and a factor in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The march culminated in King’s most famous address, known as the “I Have a Dream” speech, a spirited call for peace and equality that many consider a masterpiece of rhetoric. Standing on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial—a monument to the president who a century earlier had brought down the institution of slavery in the United States—he shared his vision of a future in which “this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.’” The speech and march cemented King’s reputation at home and abroad; later that year he was named Man of the Year by TIME magazine and in 1964 became the youngest person ever awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

In the spring of 1965, King’s elevated profile drew international attention to the violence that erupted between white segregationists and peaceful demonstrators in Selma, Alabama, where the SCLC and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) had organized a voter registration campaign. Captured on television, the brutal scene outraged many Americans and inspired supporters from across the country to gather in Selma and take part in a march to Montgomery led by King and supported by President Lyndon Johnson (1908-1973), who sent in federal troops to keep the peace. That August, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act, which guaranteed the right to vote—first awarded by the 15th Amendment—to all African Americans.

## MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.'S FINAL YEARS AND ASSASSINATION

The events in Selma deepened a growing rift between Martin Luther King Jr. and young radicals who repudiated his nonviolent methods and commitment to working within the established political framework. As more militant black leaders such as Stokely Carmichael (1941-1998) rose to prominence, King broadened the scope of his activism to address issues such as the Vietnam War and poverty among Americans of all races. In 1967, King and the SCLC embarked on an ambitious program known as the Poor People's Campaign, which was to include a massive march on the capital.

On the evening of April 4, 1968, King was fatally shot while standing on the balcony of a motel in Memphis, where he had traveled to support a sanitation workers' strike. In the wake of his death, a wave of riots swept major cities across the country, while President Johnson declared a national day of mourning. James Earl Ray (1928-1998), an escaped convict and known racist, pleaded guilty to the murder and was sentenced to 99 years in prison. (He later recanted his confession and gained some unlikely advocates, including members of the King family, before his death in 1998.)

After years of campaigning by activists, members of Congress and Coretta Scott King, among others, in 1983 President Ronald Reagan (1911-2004) signed a bill creating a U.S. federal holiday in honor of King. Observed on the third Monday of January, it was first celebrated in 1986.



## **Martin Luther King, Jr.**

### ***I Have a Dream***

I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. And so we've come here today to dramatize a shameful condition.

In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the "unalienable Rights" of "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note, insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds."

But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. And so, we've come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of Now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and

equality. Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning. And those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual. And there will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice: In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again, we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom.

We cannot walk alone.

And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead.

We cannot turn back.

There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their self-hood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating: "For Whites Only." We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until "justice rolls down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream."<sup>1</sup>

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. And some of you have come from areas where your quest -- quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive. Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South

Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed.

Let us not wallow in the valley of despair, I say to you today, my friends.

And so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of "interposition" and "nullification" -- one day right there in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, and every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight; "and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together."<sup>2</sup>

This is our hope, and this is the faith that I go back to the South with.

With this faith, we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith, we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

And this will be the day -- this will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning:

*My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing.*

*Land where my fathers died, land of the Pilgrim's pride,*

*From every mountainside, let freedom ring!*

And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

And so let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire.

Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York.

Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania.

Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado.

Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California.

But not only that:

Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.

Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee.

Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi.

From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

And when this happens, and when we allow freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual:

*Free at last! Free at last!*

*Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!*

## ROSA PARKS



### Civil Rights Pioneer

Famed civil rights activist Rosa Parks was born Rosa Louise McCauley on February 4, 1913, in Tuskegee, Alabama. Her refusal to surrender her seat to a white passenger on a public bus Montgomery, Alabama, spurred on a citywide boycott and helped launch nationwide efforts to end segregation of public facilities.

### Early Life and Education

Rosa Parks's childhood brought her early experiences with racial discrimination and activism for racial equality. After her parents separated, Rosa's mother moved the family to Pine Level, Alabama to live with her parents, Rose and Sylvester Edwards—both former slaves and strong advocates for racial equality; the family lived on the Edwards' farm, where Rosa would spend her youth. In one experience, Rosa's grandfather stood in front of their house with a shotgun while Ku Klux Klan members marched down the street.

Taught to read by her mother at a young age, Rosa went on to attend a segregated, one-room school in Pine Level, Alabama, that often lacked adequate school supplies such as desks. African-American students were forced to walk to the 1st- through 6th-grade schoolhouse, while the city of Pine Level provided bus transportation as well as a new school building for white students.

Through the rest of Rosa's education, she attended segregated schools in Montgomery, including the city's Industrial School for Girls (beginning at age 11). In 1929, while in the 11th grade and attending a laboratory school for secondary education led by the Alabama State Teachers College for Negroes,

Rosa left school to attend to both her sick grandmother and mother back in Pine Level. She never returned to her studies; instead, she got a job at a shirt factory in Montgomery.

In 1932, at age 19, Rosa met and married Raymond Parks, a barber and an active member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. With Raymond's support, Rosa earned her high school degree in 1933. She soon became actively involved in civil rights issues by joining the Montgomery chapter of the NAACP in 1943, serving as the chapter's youth leader as well as secretary to NAACP President E.D. Nixon—a post she held until 1957.

### Ordered to the Back of the Bus

The Montgomery City Code required that all public transportation be segregated and that bus drivers had the "powers of a police officer of the city while in actual charge of any bus for the purposes of carrying out the provisions" of the code. While operating a bus, drivers were required to provide separate but equal accommodations for white and black passengers by assigning seats. This was accomplished with a line roughly in the middle of the bus separating white passengers in the front of the bus and African-American passengers in the back.

When an African-American passenger boarded the bus, they had to get on at the front to pay their fare and then get off and re-board the bus at the back door. When the seats in the front of the bus filled up and more white passengers got on, the bus driver would move back the sign separating black and white passengers and, if necessary, ask black passengers to give up their seat.

On December 1, 1955, after a long day's work at a Montgomery department store, where she worked as a seamstress, Rosa Parks boarded the Cleveland Avenue bus for home. She took a seat in the first of several rows designated for "colored" passengers. Though the city's bus ordinance did give drivers the authority to assign seats, it didn't specifically give them the authority to demand a passenger to give up a seat to anyone (regardless of color). However, Montgomery bus drivers had adopted the custom of requiring black passengers to give up their seats to white passengers, when no other seats were available. If the black passenger protested, the bus driver had the authority to refuse service and could call the police to have them removed.

As the bus Rosa was riding continued on its route, it began to fill with white passengers. Eventually, the bus was full and the driver noticed that several white passengers were standing in the aisle. He stopped the bus and moved the sign separating the two sections back one row and asked four black passengers to give up their seats. Three complied, but Rosa refused and remained seated. The driver demanded, "Why don't you stand up?" to which Rosa replied, "I don't think I should have to stand up."



The driver called the police and had her arrested. Later, Rosa recalled that her refusal wasn't because she was physically tired, but that she was tired of giving in.

The police arrested Rosa at the scene and charged her with violation of Chapter 6, Section 11, of the Montgomery City Code. She was taken to police headquarters, where, later that night, she was released on bail.

### Montgomery Bus Boycott

On the evening that Rosa Parks was arrested, E.D. Nixon, head of the local chapter of the NAACP, began forming plans to organize a boycott of Montgomery's city buses. Ads were placed in local papers, and handbills were printed and distributed in black neighborhoods. Members of the African-American community were asked to stay off city buses on Monday, December 5, 1955—the day of Rosa's trial—in protest of her arrest. People were encouraged to stay home from work or school, take a cab or walk to work. With most of the African-American community not riding the bus, organizers believed a longer boycott might be successful.

On the morning of December 5, a group of leaders from the African-American community gathered at the Mt. Zion Church in Montgomery to discuss strategies, and determined that their boycott effort required a new organization and strong leadership. They formed the Montgomery Improvement Association, electing Montgomery newcomer Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. as minister of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. The MIA believed that Rosa Parks's case provided an excellent opportunity to take further action to create real change.

When Rosa arrived at the courthouse for trial that morning with her attorney, Fred Gray, she was greeted by a bustling crowd of around 500 local supporters, who rooted her on. Following a 30-minute hearing, Rosa was found guilty of violating a local ordinance and was fined \$10, as well as a \$4 court fee. Inarguably the biggest event of the day, however, was what Rosa's trial had triggered. The Montgomery Bus Boycott, as it came to be known, was a huge success. The city's buses were, by and large, empty. Some people carpooled and others rode in African-American-operated cabs, but most of the estimated 40,000 African-American commuters living in the city at the time had opted to walk to work that day—some as far as 20 miles.

Due to the size and scope of, and loyalty to, boycott participation, the effort continued for several months. The city Montgomery had become a victorious eyesore, with dozens of public buses sitting idle, ultimately severely crippling finances for its transit company. With the boycott's progress, however, came strong resistance. Some segregationists retaliated with violence. Black churches were burned, and both Martin Luther King Jr.'s and E.D. Nixon's homes were destroyed by bombings. Still,

further attempts were made to end the boycott. The insurance was canceled for the city taxi system that was used by African Americans. Black citizens were arrested for violating an antiquated law prohibiting boycotts.

In response to the ensuing events, members of the African-American community took legal action. Armed with the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, which stated that separate but equal policies had no place in public education, a black legal team took the issue of segregation on public transit systems to the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Alabama, Northern (Montgomery) Division; Rosa's attorney, Fred Gray, filed the suit. In June 1956, the district court declared racial segregation laws (also known as "Jim Crow laws") unconstitutional. The city of Montgomery appealed the court's decision shortly thereafter, but on November 13, 1956, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the lower court's ruling.

With the transit company and downtown businesses suffering financial loss and the legal system ruling against them, the city of Montgomery had no choice but to lift its enforcement of segregation on public buses, and the boycott officially ended on December 20, 1956. The combination of legal action, backed by the unrelenting determination of the African-American community, made the 381-day Montgomery Bus Boycott one of the largest and most successful mass movements against racial segregation in history.

### Racial Discrimination

Although she had become a symbol of the Civil Rights Movement, Rosa Parks suffered hardship in the months following her arrest in Montgomery and the subsequent boycott. She lost her department store job and her husband was fired after his boss forbade him to talk about his wife or their legal case. Unable to find work, they eventually left Montgomery; the couple, along with Rosa's mother, moved to Detroit, Michigan. There, Rosa made a new life for herself, working as a secretary and receptionist in U.S. Representative John Conyer's congressional office. She also served on the board of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America.

In 1987, with longtime friend Elaine Eason Steele, Rosa founded the Rosa and Raymond Parks Institute for Self-Development. The organization runs "Pathways to Freedom" bus tours, introducing young people to important civil rights and Underground Railroad sites throughout the country.

In 1992, Rosa published *Rosa Parks: My Story*, an autobiography recounting her life in the segregated South. In 1995, she published *Quiet Strength* which includes her memoirs and focuses on the role that religious faith played throughout her life.

### Death and Legacy

Rosa Parks received many accolades during her lifetime, including the Spingarn Medal, the NAACP's highest award, and the prestigious Martin Luther King Jr. Award. On September 9, 1996, President Bill Clinton awarded Parks the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest honor given by the United States' executive branch. The following year, she was awarded the Congressional Gold Medal, the highest award given by the U.S. legislative branch. In 1999, *TIME* magazine named Rosa Parks on its list of "The 20 most influential People of the 20th Century."

On October 24, 2005, at the age of 92, Rosa Parks quietly died in her apartment in Detroit, Michigan. She had been diagnosed the previous year with progressive dementia. Her death was marked by several memorial services, among them lying in state at the Capitol Rotunda in Washington, D.C., where an estimated 50,000 people viewed her casket. Rosa was interred between her husband and mother at Detroit's Woodlawn Cemetery, in the chapel's mausoleum. Shortly after her death, the chapel was renamed the Rosa L. Parks Freedom Chapel.

February 4, 2013 marks what would have been Rosa Parks's 100th birthday. In celebration of Parks's centennial, memorial ceremonies and other events honoring the civil rights activist have been planned nationwide. Among these honors, a commemorative U.S. Postal Service stamp, called the Rosa Parks Forever stamp and featuring a rendition of the famed activist, debuted on Parks's centennial birthday. Later that month, President Barack Obama unveiled a statue honoring Parks in the nation's Capitol building. He remembered Parks, according to *The New York Times*, by saying "In a single moment, with the simplest of gestures, she helped change America and change the world. . . . And today, she takes her rightful place among those who shaped this nation's course." The sculpture was designed by Robert Firmin and sculpted by Eugene Daub.

### **Is Segregation Still Present In Our Society?**

**Yes, it is.**

Segregation will always be a potential problem so long as racism still exists. Since people tend to be bigoted in one way or another, there really isn't any way for racism, and by extension, segregation, to not exist.

While there is no law that upholds segregation any longer (at least one that is still vehemently enforced), the division of the races can still be seen just by casually strolling through neighborhoods. Most cities have slum-like areas and lower-income neighborhoods. These areas tend to be demographically more Black and Hispanic. The ethnic makeup of these neighborhoods is typically comprised of people who don't make enough money to live in more "pristine" neighborhoods, and it's no shocker that there is still a racial stigma within the workforce.

Despite what a lot of people say, most of the people who live in these neighborhoods aren't there because they don't put in the effort or are criminal; they simply don't have the same opportunities as Whites. In a lot of cities, gentrification still exists. So, while segregation in the sense of overall "whites-only" legislation and enforcement isn't really present anymore, the segregation of the races is found in community makeup, and is influenced by the lack of opportunities a lot of people of Black and Hispanic decent have, especially when they're directly competing with Whites."

### **Segregation is and always will be an occurring issue in present day society**

The element of segregation is to discriminate against one single person or group of people. Segregation occurs everywhere, and is especially highlighted issues in schools, mainly high schools. Everyone is different, but young adults can't seem to adopt the theory of one person being unique from the next. They expect everyone to like one kind of music, to love the opposite gender, to have one skin color and to wear designer clothes. This indeed is not the case. Segregation occurs literally everywhere. Gay bars are now on the widespread, clubs at schools geared towards one sex... Society today is a complex system that has been tearing the lives of young adults apart. Society sucks and segregation is an extreme issue that needs to be dealt with. Whoever says no, segregation is not still present in today's society is completely and utterly incorrect.

### **Segregation always has been and probably will continue to be part of our society.**

Segregation is a natural by-product of viewing things in a us-them situation. Back during early American's slaves were "them." During WW2, Japanese Americans were "Them." During separation of blacks and whites in society, blacks were "Them." Humans are mentally held to a standard of decency, such as the golden rule. However, when you classify someone as a "them," you can justify nearly anything. Segregation becomes impossible when it is viewed as everyone being us. While many people today consider blacks as just another member of society, some still view them separately and so keep away from them. The only way that it is going to stop is if we, as a society, includes all members equally and don't consider one part of our culture to be better than another. Until this happens, segregation will continue to happen.

### **Yes, because America has always been not so subtle in their 'class' society.**

It is no surprise that with 'whites' moving to the burbs and the 'blacks' left in the inner city, it worked out wonderfully for keeping the races separated under the guise of 'de-segregation'. And the representatives of these districts have their furs cut to the bone. It really isn't even thinly veiled anymore. It is a pathetic legacy to the blatantly American racism still fueled by hate in America.

Yes, segregation is still very much a reality in the U.S. Especially in Southern states. It may not be legally enforced but it is in fact still happening. Unlike more liberal states such as New York and California where diversity is encouraged on a high level, in places like Alabama, Georgia or even Tennessee, people have a higher tendency to live, attend school and socialize with people of their own race in these places. It is very common. There are still schools that are over 90% of one particular race and communities where almost everyone who lives there is one race. Many people will deny it, but it is still a reality in this country.

### **Another unfair question.**

Segregation was an actual policy, one which was eradicated in the 1960s through the voting rights act and the civil rights act. What we see today is "choice-segregation". Birds of a feather, fly together. This isn't a racial problem, it's an economic problem.

Most low income trailer-parks are predominantly white. Most government subsidized housing in the ghetto is occupied by blacks and Hispanics. This trend disappears as soon as you look at a different income bracket. Middle-income housing communities are incredibly diverse. This may be anecdotal, but my neighborhood is a community of over 400 houses and I have neighbors of different ethnicity on literally every side of my house.

### **Racial Segregation is still here today.**

Racial Segregation is still here today because people still try to avoid the people who have different type skin and facial features. Also It is still here today because some people won't accept the different people as normal humans.

**JOHN F. KENNEDY**  
(1917-1963)



Elected in 1960 as the 35th president of the United States, 43-year-old John F. Kennedy became the youngest man and the first Roman Catholic to hold that office. He was born into one of America's wealthiest families and parlayed an elite education and a reputation as a military hero into a successful run for Congress in 1946 and for the Senate in 1952. As president, Kennedy confronted mounting Cold War tensions in Cuba, Vietnam and elsewhere. He also led a renewed drive for public service and eventually provided federal support for the growing civil rights movement. His assassination on November 22, 1963, in Dallas, Texas, sent shockwaves around the world and turned the all-too-human Kennedy into a larger-than-life heroic figure. To this day, historians continue to rank him among the best-loved presidents in American history.

**JOHN F. KENNEDY'S EARLY LIFE**

Born on May 29, 1917, in Brookline, Massachusetts, John F. Kennedy (known as Jack) was the second of nine children. His parents, Joseph and Rose Kennedy, were members of two of Boston's most prominent Irish Catholic political families. Despite persistent health problems throughout his childhood and teenage years (he would later be diagnosed with a rare endocrine disorder called Addison's disease), Jack led a privileged youth, attending private schools such as Canterbury and Choate and spending summers in Hyannis Port on Cape Cod. Joe Kennedy, a hugely successful

businessman and an early supporter of Franklin D. Roosevelt, was appointed chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission in 1934 and in 1937 was named U.S. ambassador to Great Britain. As a student at Harvard University, Jack traveled in Europe as his father's secretary. His senior thesis about British's unpreparedness for war was later published as an acclaimed book, "Why England Slept" (1940).

Jack joined the U.S. Navy in 1941 and two years later was sent to the South Pacific, where he was given command of a Patrol-Torpedo (PT) boat. In August 1943, a Japanese destroyer struck the craft, PT-109, in the Solomon Islands. Kennedy helped some of his marooned crew back to safety, and was awarded the Navy and Marine Corps Medal for heroism. His older brother, Joe Jr., was not so fortunate: He was killed in August 1944 when his Navy airplane exploded on a secret mission against a German rocket-launching site. A grieving Joe Sr. told Jack it was his duty to fulfill the destiny once intended for Joe Jr.: to become the first Catholic president of the United States.

### **JFK'S BEGINNINGS IN POLITICS**

Abandoning plans to be a journalist, Jack left the Navy by the end of 1944. Less than a year later, he was back in Boston preparing for a run for Congress in 1946. As a moderately conservative Democrat, and backed by his father's fortune, Jack won his party's nomination handily and carried the mostly working-class Eleventh District by nearly three to one over his Republican opponent in the general election. He entered the 80th Congress in January 1947, at the age of 29, and immediately attracted attention (as well as some criticism from older members of the Washington establishment) for his youthful appearance and relaxed, informal style.

Kennedy won reelection to the House of Representatives in 1948 and 1950, and in 1952 ran successfully for the Senate, defeating the popular Republican incumbent Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. On September 12, 1953, Kennedy married the beautiful socialite and journalist Jacqueline (Jackie) Lee Bouvier. Two years later, he was forced to undergo a painful operation on his back. While recovering from the surgery, Jack wrote another best-selling book, "Profiles in Courage," which won the Pulitzer Prize for biography in 1957. (The book was later revealed to be mostly the work of Kennedy's longtime aide, Theodore Sorenson.)

### **KENNEDY'S ROAD TO PRESIDENCY**

After nearly earning his party's nomination for vice president (under Adlai Stevenson) in 1956, Kennedy announced his candidacy for president on January 2, 1960. He defeated a primary challenge from the more liberal Hubert Humphrey and chose the Senate majority leader, Lyndon Johnson of Texas, as his running mate. In the general election, Kennedy faced a difficult battle against his

Republican opponent, Richard Nixon, a two-term vice president under the popular Dwight D. Eisenhower. Offering a young, energetic alternative to Nixon and the status quo, Kennedy benefited from his performance (and telegenic appearance) in the first-ever televised debates, watched by millions of viewers. In November's election, Kennedy won by a narrow margin—less than 120,000 out of some 70 million votes cast—becoming the youngest man and the first Roman Catholic to be elected president of the United States.

With his beautiful young wife and their two small children (Caroline, born in 1957, and John Jr., born just weeks after the election), Kennedy lent an unmistakable aura of youth and glamour to the White House. In his inaugural address, given on January 20, 1961, the new president called on his fellow Americans to work together in the pursuit of progress and the elimination of poverty, but also in the battle to win the ongoing Cold War against communism around the world. Kennedy's famous closing words expressed the need for cooperation and sacrifice on the part of the American people: "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country."

### **KENNEDY'S FOREIGN POLICY CHALLENGES**

An early crisis in the foreign affairs arena occurred in April 1961, when Kennedy approved the plan to send 1,400 CIA-trained Cuban exiles in an amphibious landing at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba. Intended to spur a rebellion that would overthrow the communist leader Fidel Castro, the mission ended in failure, with nearly all of the exiles captured or killed. That June, Kennedy met with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev in Vienna to discuss the city of Berlin, which had been divided after World War II between Allied and Soviet control. Two months later, East German troops began erecting a wall to divide the city. Kennedy sent an army convoy to reassure West Berliners of U.S. support, and would deliver one of his most famous speeches in West Berlin in June 1963.

Kennedy clashed again with Khrushchev in October 1962 during the Cuban missile crisis. After learning that the Soviet Union was constructing a number of nuclear and long-range missile sites in Cuba that could pose a threat to the continental United States, Kennedy announced a naval blockade of Cuba. The tense standoff lasted nearly two weeks before Khrushchev agreed to dismantle Soviet missile sites in Cuba in return for America's promise not to invade the island and the removal of U.S. missiles from Turkey and other sites close to Soviet borders. In July 1963, Kennedy won his greatest foreign affairs victory when Khrushchev agreed to join him and Britain's Prime Minister Harold Macmillan in signing a nuclear test ban treaty. In Southeast Asia, however, Kennedy's desire to curb the spread of communism led him to escalate U.S. involvement in the conflict in Vietnam, even as privately he expressed his dismay over the situation.



## KENNEDY'S LEADERSHIP AT HOME

During his first year in office, Kennedy oversaw the launch of the Peace Corps, which would send young volunteers to underdeveloped countries all over the world. Otherwise, he was unable to achieve much of his proposed legislation during his lifetime, including two of his biggest priorities: income tax cuts and a civil rights bill. Kennedy was slow to commit himself to the civil rights cause, but was eventually forced into action, sending federal troops to support the desegregation of the University of Mississippi after riots there left two dead and many others injured. The following summer, Kennedy announced his intention to propose a comprehensive civil rights bill and endorsed the massive March on Washington that took place that August.

Kennedy was an enormously popular president, both at home and abroad, and his family drew famous comparisons to King Arthur's court at Camelot. His brother Bobby served as his attorney general, while the youngest Kennedy son, Edward (Ted), was elected to Jack's former Senate seat in 1962. Jackie Kennedy became an international icon of style, beauty and sophistication, though stories of her husband's numerous marital infidelities (and his personal association with members of organized crime) would later emerge to complicate the Kennedys' idyllic image.

JFK'S

ASSASSINATION

On November 22, 1963, the president and his wife landed in Dallas; he had spoken in San Antonio, Austin and Fort Worth the day before. From the airfield, the party then traveled in a motorcade to the Dallas Trade Mart, the site of Jack's next speaking engagement. Shortly after 12:30 p.m., as the motorcade was passing through downtown Dallas, shots rang out; Kennedy was struck twice, in the neck and head, and was pronounced dead shortly after arriving at a nearby hospital.



John, Jackie, and the Connallys in the presidential limousine seconds before the assassination.

Twenty-four-year-old Lee Harvey Oswald, known to have Communist sympathies, was arrested for the killing but was shot and fatally wounded two days later by local nightclub owner Jack Ruby while being led to jail. Almost immediately, alternative theories of Kennedy's assassination emerged—including conspiracies run by the KGB, the Mafia and the U.S. military-industrial complex, among others. A presidential commission led

by Chief Justice Earl Warren concluded that Oswald had acted alone, but speculation and debate over the assassination has persisted.

## **Lyndon B. Johnson**

U.S. Vice President, U.S. President (1908–1973)



Lyndon B. Johnson was elected vice president of the U.S. in 1960 and became the 36th president in 1963, following the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

### **QUOTES**

“There are no problems we cannot solve together, and very few that we can solve by ourselves.”

—Lyndon B. Johnson

Lyndon B. Johnson - Before the War on Poverty (TV-14; 02:14) After spending time teaching impoverished Mexican-American immigrants on the border of Texas and Mexico, Lyndon B. Johnson was inspired to bring an end to poverty.

### **Synopsis**

Lyndon B. Johnson, the 36th president of the United States, was born in Texas on August 27, 1908. He was elected vice president of the United States in 1960, and became the 36th president in 1963, after President John F. Kennedy was assassinated. During his administration, Johnson initiated the "Great Society" social service programs, signed the Civil Rights Act into law, and bore the brunt of national

opposition to his vast expansion of American involvement in the Vietnam War. Johnson died in Texas on January 22, 1973.

### Younger Years

Born in Stonewall, Texas, on August 27, 1908, Lyndon Baines Johnson's family had settled in Texas before the Civil War. His parents, Samuel Ealy Johnson Jr. and Rebekah Baines Johnson, had three girls and two boys. Lyndon was the oldest, born August 27, 1908. The nearby town of Johnson City was named after the Johnson family, known for farming and ranching. Lyndon's father was a rancher and part-time politician, but did not inherit the family's ranching talent and ran into financial difficulty, losing the family farm when Lyndon was in his early teens.

Lyndon B. Johnson struggled in school, but managed to graduate from Johnson City High School in 1924. He enrolled at Southwest Texas State Teachers College (now Texas State University) and participated in debates and campus politics. After graduating in 1930, he briefly taught school, but his political ambitions had already taken shape: In 1931, Johnson won an appointment as legislative secretary to Texas Democratic Congressman Richard M. Kleberg, and relocated to Washington, D.C. He quickly built a network of congressmen, newspapermen, lobbyists and friends, including aides to President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In 1934, Lyndon B. Johnson met Claudia Alta Taylor, known to her friends as "Lady Bird." Claudia soon became Johnson's top aide. She used a modest inheritance to bankroll his 1937 run for Congress, and ran his office for several years. She later bought a radio station and then a television station, which made the Johnsons wealthy.

### Early Political Career

After the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor in December 1941, President Roosevelt helped Lyndon B. Johnson win a commission in the U.S. Naval Reserve as a lieutenant commander. Johnson served on a tour of the South Pacific and flew one combat mission. Not long into the mission, Johnson's plane was forced to turn back due to mechanical difficulty, but he managed to receive a Silver Star medal for his participation. Soon after, he returned to his legislative duties in Washington, D.C.

In a close and controversial election, Lyndon B. Johnson was elected as a senator for Texas in 1948. He advanced quickly and, with his connections, became the youngest minority leader in Senate history in 1953. Democrats won control of the Senate the following year, and Johnson was elected majority leader.

Johnson had an uncanny ability to gather information on his fellow legislators, and knew where each of his colleagues stood on political issues. With incredible persuasion skills and an imposing presence, he was able to "button-hole" political allies and opponents alike to convince them of his way of thinking. Subsequently, he was able to obtain passage of a number of measures during the Eisenhower administration.

### Vice President

By 1960, Lyndon B. Johnson had set his sights on the White House. However, he was overwhelmed by the young and energetic senator from Massachusetts, John F. Kennedy, who was nominated for president on the first ballot at the Democratic Convention. Kennedy realized that he could not be elected without the support of traditional Southern Democrats, most of whom had backed Johnson. Thusly, after the convention, Kennedy offered Johnson the vice presidency and Johnson accepted. Johnson delivered the South, and the JFK/LBJ ticket won the election against Republican candidate Richard Nixon by the smallest of margins.

Though never comfortable in the role, as vice president, Johnson headed the space program, oversaw negotiations on the nuclear test ban treaty, and worked to push through equal opportunity legislation for minorities. He also strongly supported Kennedy's decision to send American military advisors to South Vietnam to help fight off a communist insurgency. However, Johnson was never in Kennedy's inner circle and was frustrated by his lack of influence, particularly on legislative issues.

### Presidency

On November, 22, 1963, President John F. Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas while traveling in a motorcade. Johnson was only two cars behind Kennedy when the shots rang out. Just a few hours later, Johnson was sworn in as the 36th president aboard Air Force One on its return to Washington, D.C. Over the next year, he endorsed the late president's programs and pushed through Congress a few of his own, including a tax cut and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 -- the first effective civil rights law since Reconstruction.

In 1964, Johnson ran for the presidency against conservative Republican Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona. With public sentiment largely for Democrats and Goldwater's staunch conservatism, Johnson won by a landslide; he received 61 percent of the popular vote -- the biggest margin of victory in U.S. election history. Johnson used his election mandate to wage war on poverty in the United States and communism in South East Asia.

In 1965, Johnson pushed a sweeping legislative agenda known as the "Great Society," which would become the most ambitious and far-reaching domestic program in the nation's history. With strong

bipartisan support, scores of bills were passed that championed urban renewal, education, the arts, environmental beautification and conservation, and the development of depressed regions in the country. Great Society legislation also included the passage of the Medicare and Medicaid acts and the Voting Rights Act, and led to the establishment of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. In 1968, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act.

### Final Years

By 1967, the escalating war in Vietnam was consuming Lyndon B. Johnson's presidency. Criticism surrounded his administration's handling of the war found in the nation's media, and anti-war protests had begun to spring up on college campuses and major cities. By 1968, more than 500,000 U.S. troops were in Vietnam, and there seemed to be no end in sight. As the next election campaign geared up, Democrats were split into four factions, each despising the other three, and Johnson had lost control of his party. His approval rating plummeted to 36 percent. On March 31, 1968, Johnson shocked the nation by announcing that he would not seek re-election.

When Johnson left office in January 1969, peace talks in Vietnam were under way, but it would take another four years before the United States was completely out of Vietnam.

Johnson died suddenly of a heart attack at his Texas ranch on January 22, 1973. The day before his death, he had learned that peace was at hand in Vietnam.

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Lyndon Baines Johnson has been credited with being one of the most important figures in the civil rights movement. Johnson does have some detractors who believe that he was merely an unprincipled politician who used the civil rights issue when he realized the worth of the "Black Vote". However Johnson himself claimed to be an idealist who dreamed of making America a "Great Society". It was Johnson who put the presidential signature to the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

Lyndon Johnson's work for minorities began in 1928 when he obtained his first job as an elementary school teacher; it was, of course, at this time a segregated school attended by only Mexican Americans. Johnson had 28 pupils who he recalled were "mired in the slums", "lashed by prejudice" and "buried half- alive in illiteracy". Johnson believed that their only way out was by education and he bribed, bullied, cajoled and encouraged his pupils, and they adored him.

During the Great Depression, Johnson worked for one of Roosevelt's New Deal Agencies, the National Youth Administration. Johnson was ordered by Washington to have a black leader as a close advisor,

Johnson feared he would be "run out of Texas", feeling implementation had to be slow as so to not upset deep- rooted customs. Despite this Johnson made great efforts to alleviate black unemployment; 50% by 1932. Despite privately referring to African Americans as "niggers", he sometimes stayed at black colleges and the African American community found him unusually helpful. Johnson however did little to help other minorities such as Hispanics because, there was little political pressure from Washington and Johnson stood to politically gain little from helping them.

When Johnson became a Congressman, he wanted to gain the minority vote and so he considered employing a Mexican or Spanish-American to show his "appreciation" of his Mexican supporters; cynical Texans called his behavior a publicity stunt. Many felt that any Texan who wanted to represent the segregated state had to appear to be a segregationist and his gesture didn't. It was however beneficial to Johnson as it won him the minority vote and made him, a politician with national ambitions, look free from sectional prejudices.

Johnson however, due to political expediency, was forced to vote with his fellow Southern Democrats in Congress, against civil rights measures such as banning lynching, eliminating poll taxes and denying federal funding to segregated schools, measures which later would make up ground breaking legislation. As a senator, Johnson's opposition to Truman's civil rights program disgusted Texas blacks. His explanations were clearly within the contemporary Southern political context; he claimed the bills would never have passed anyway. Johnson also claimed he would be more helpful in another place and position, showing his political ambition and recognizing he could only go so far in Texas. He also trotted out the standard Southern excuse for not helping African Americans, that he was "not against blacks rights but for states rights".

Johnson, like Eisenhower, thought civil rights legislation would try to force people to change and lead to violence. Despite this politically correct (in Southern eyes) action, Johnson was behind the scenes working to get black farmers and schoolchildren equal treatment in his congressional district, believing small, but real developments would be better than ground- breaking legislation. In 1938 Johnson secured federal funding for housing in Austin, Texas to benefit Mexican, African American and White slum dwellers. Johnson softened this for racist southerners by stating "This country won't have to worry about isms [communism and fascism] when it gives its people a decent, clean place to live and a job. They'll believe in the government." This behavior may make Lyndon Johnson seem a Jekyll and Hyde character on race relations, his African American servants were treated well by Johnson in private until other racists visited Johnson and he put on a show for them to gain their support for his political ambitions.

By the mid-1950's, Senator Johnson was clearly altering his stance on civil rights issues, being one of few Southern politicians who supported the 1954 BROWN decision by the Supreme Court. He did so

because he felt it important to uphold the American Constitution and the Supreme Court's place in that. Johnson felt that the debate of BROWN was merely weakening the Democrats and the whole country. Johnson wanted the South to accept it in order for the South to make economic advances, knowing racial tensions made the area unattractive to investors. By this time Johnson's presidential aspirations meant he couldn't appear too narrowly Southern and he was one of only three Southern politicians who refused to sign the Southern Manifesto in protest of BROWN. Johnson's motivation over this stance was subject to debate; some thinking it was an act of "political valor" and others thinking he used it for political gain.

Johnson continued to remain careful and appeased the Southern racists, such as in 1956 when he killed a civil rights bill in Congress. Again, in keeping with his Jekyll and Hyde stance he changed his opinion in 1957. Whilst assuring Texans that there was "no foundation" to rumors he was promoting a civil rights bill, and stating he was "strongly and irrevocably opposed to forced integration of the races" he orchestrated, though diluted parts which would be offensive to southerners, the 1957 Civil Rights Act.

This dilution made fellow Southerner President Eisenhower's bill into a largely unenforceable voting rights law. The part of the bill, which allowed federal government to promote integration in schools, was lost, due to the hostility BROWN and BROWN II had received in the South. Despite Johnson's dilution of the act to make it merely a token gesture, the bill symbolized greater federal interest in civil rights and their enforcing; it also paved the way for more civil rights legislation. Johnson was also important in the passage of Eisenhower's second Civil Rights Act in 1960.

During his period as John F. Kennedy's Vice- President, racism became an increasingly important political issue. Vice- President Johnson knew something had to be done "The Negro fought in the war [World War Two], and....he's not gonna keep taking the shit we're dishing out. We're in a race with time. If we don't act, we're gonna have blood in the streets." As Vice- President Johnson's greatest challenge was chairing Kennedy's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity (CEEEO).

Johnson didn't want the job and Kennedy knew it was a 'hot potato'. Johnson told Kennedy that the CEEEO lacked the money and power to be effective, but Kennedy insisted and did his best. He did so because he considered discrimination as 'un-American' and damaging to America's reputation, especially in the Cold War world. James Farmer of CORE, believed Johnson's motivation to be real and both he and Roy Wilkins of the NAACP rated Johnson higher than President Kennedy on civil rights issues. The CEEEO failed to win many plaudits and shortly before Kennedy was assassinated, Johnson urged him to make a 'moral commitment' to civil rights.

Johnson became President of the USA, in November 1963 after the assassination of Kennedy. It was then that Lyndon Johnson announced his vision of a "Great Society" for America, with "an end to poverty and racial injustice". Johnson felt he and Congress owed it to the late president to see his civil rights bill passed. However Johnson was warned by other Southerners that he was staking his political career on passing this bill into law. Johnson was convinced that discrimination was morally wrong and wanted change to lead to economic, political and spiritual reintegration of the South within the nation.

The bill didn't pass unhindered. There were doubters in Congress and it also had to overcome the longest obstruction in Senate history. Its final passing owed much to Kennedy, who had won over the Republican minority before his death. Johnson was sure the bill would have passed if Kennedy were still alive but that it would have been diluted like Eisenhower's bills. Johnson must also receive credit as he devoted a staggering amount of his time, energy and political capital to ensure the passage of the bill in its original state. He used Kennedy's death, appeals to Southerners' self-interest and his Southern background to get what has been described as the most important piece of civil rights legislation passed.

The Act has been described by Irving Bernstein as "a rare and glittering moment in the history of American democracy". However everything wasn't content in America, there were signs of a northern working-class backlash, shown by the increase in popularity for racist presidential hopefuls, in the presidential primaries. Blacks were also dissatisfied saying it hadn't gone far enough. The result was riots in black ghettos in East Coast cities. The blacks Johnson thought he was helping, repaid him by embarrassing him and the Democrat Party. Despite this, Johnson bravely planned more civil rights legislation.

Johnson hoped his *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* in 1965 would help children to get out of the ghettos. The poorer states like Mississippi benefited greatly from the federal funding and by the end of the 1960's the percentage of African Americans obtaining a high school diploma rose from 40% to 60%. However, a combination of ghetto peer pressure and traditions and reluctant officials limited the Act's effectiveness. Johnson's 1965 *Higher Education Act* was more successful as it gave significant aid to poor black colleges; it led the number of African American college students to quadruple within a decade. Lyndon Johnson's introduction of Medicare and Medicaid helped to address the issue of poor health in the minorities, African American infant mortality halved within a decade.

It soon became clear to Johnson that there were still gaps that had been left by the 1964 Civil Rights Act, but Johnson feared attempts to close them would be hindered by uncooperative Southern Congressmen. After Martin Luther King's campaign in Selma, Alabama to get African Americans to



register to vote Johnson felt he could act, reminding Americans that one individual's disenfranchisement "undermines the freedom of every citizen".

The 1965 Voting Rights Act had a dramatic effect on the South, changing the political complexion of the area, to make it more racially integrated. Lyndon Johnson's own Democratic Party achieved political gain as a result of the act, the enlarged black vote helped to counteract the loss of Southern whites for the Democratic Party. After this legislation it became increasingly difficult to obtain reforming acts, the 1968 Civil Rights Act doing little more to help the African American community.

Many believe that Johnson was able to pass the 1964 and 1965 Acts because of an exceptional set of circumstances. During his 24 years in Congress Johnson had gained unprecedented experience in getting legislation through Congress. He also had an unusual two-thirds of Congress in his favor and Congressmen felt particularly after Kennedy's assassination that they should be righting national wrongs. Johnson was himself exceptionally persuasive and determined and had a lifelong commitment to helping the poor.

Lyndon Johnson followed Kennedy's example in using his executive authority to help the African Americans. 1965-6 Johnson worked to help African Americans through manipulation of federal funding, such as offering federal subsidies to southern states, which co-operated in school desegregation (despite it being 11 years after the BROWN decision!) so he was using the immense power of the federal purse. Johnson was also seen to be pro-African Americans in other ways, by appointing an African American Supreme Court judge, Thurgood Marshall. Johnson also had African American advisors, hoping this would counteract the images of lawless African American rioters.

Johnson's positive discrimination, which later became known as 'affirmative action' was met with the expected attacks from white bigots, who felt Johnson had done more than enough for African Americans. His attempts were also hampered by the riots in Watts, Los Angeles in August 1965. These were caused by de facto segregation and discrimination, which was unspoken and therefore almost impossible to legislate against. The result of the riots was a white backlash as the purchasing of guns by suburban whites in California soared and many whites turned against Johnson's reform program. He himself couldn't understand how the African Americans could be so politically naïve, failing to realize that their action had undermined his efforts.

After the events in Watts, Johnson kept a lower profile on the civil rights legislation. Johnson was also stopped from doing more by an increasingly awkward Congress which rejected an administration civil rights bill, one aim of which was to prohibit housing discrimination, the basis of the 1968 Civil Rights Act. Johnson's attempts to integrate housing were hampered by the Watts riots and Stokely Carmichael's call for "Black Power". Local and State authorities also showed their reluctance to co-

operate with Johnson's programs, meaning that whilst Acts passed into law, they were still not implemented.

The summer of 1966 saw riots in 38 major American cities. This harmed the image Johnson was trying to mould of the African American community. He tried to excuse them by stating the causes of the riots were poverty and despair, what he had been trying to combat. Another major distraction to Johnson was the Vietnam War, which goes much of the way in explaining why like Kennedy and his distraction of the Cuban Missile Crisis, Johnson was unable to devote more time to America's domestic affairs. Johnson was also aware that he wasn't a miracle worker and that the situation was "too critical to our future for any one man or any one administration to ever resolve."

Johnson didn't stand for re-election in 1968 and ironically his last public appearance was at a civil rights symposium. When he died a few weeks later, 60% of the people who filed passed his coffin to pay their respects were African Americans.

What had Johnson actually achieved? He played an important role in ending de jure segregation. His 1965 Voting Rights Act transformed Southern politics and gave African Americans the chance to vote without fear; it also saw more African Americans enter politics. Johnson's Education Acts sped up the process of school desegregation, which had lagged after the initial BROWN decision and also helped African American colleges. Johnson had not only passed the 1964 Civil Rights Act but had also been instrumental in the 1957 and 1960 Acts; all three had given African Americans more political and economic opportunities. Black unemployment had decreased by 34% and in that way he had contributed to his dream of a "Great Society".

However, Lyndon Johnson did not solve all as most African Americans continued to live in poor housing and suffer above average unemployment. His Great Society program soon became unpopular with local politicians, who resented federal intervention and ordinary Americans who disliked the redistribution of resources needed to combat poverty. De facto segregation continued especially in the South and the 1968 Civil Rights Act has been attacked as an 'empty gesture' and critics say Johnson's 'Great Society' created a welfare dependent culture.

Some African Americans were dissatisfied with Johnson's achievements, leading to the riots at Watts in 1965 and during the summer of 1966, which displayed their desire for faster progress. However it is argued that without Johnson's actions, Black Power would have a larger following. Above all, it must be remembered that Johnson was a politician and therefore always looking out for votes and being cautious not to antagonize too many people. The advances made during Johnson's presidency can naturally be attributed to his passing of legislation but it must also be remembered that events such as the assassinations of President Kennedy and Martin Luther King also acted as a catalyst for change.

Johnson like Eisenhower and Truman before him was a Southerner and whether or not he accepted it his roots were inherently racist. Many would look at him and Kennedy and predict that Irish American Kennedy, whose own family had been discriminated against, would be a champion of the civil rights movement. However that was not the case and like his Southern counterparts, it was Johnson who passed the major civil rights legislation.

Many have asked why did Johnson take civil rights so seriously and what was his motivation? Lyndon Johnson was motivated by memories of his own poverty ridden childhood and also his strong belief that helping minorities would be of spiritual and economic benefit to all Americans. Johnson also believed that racial discrimination was ironically damaging the economy of his beloved South and that the area would have to abandon its racist attitudes to gain economic prosperity. Despite Johnson's ambitions he was also a caring and compassionate man.

Naturally as a politician Johnson was constantly aware of the need to be popular to secure support, that is why he diluted the 1957 Civil Rights Act in order to win support to run instead of John F Kennedy as the Democrat presidential candidate. Lyndon Johnson however didn't want to be seen as a conservative Southerner and so to prove his ability to rise above his roots; he felt it would be advantageous to promote civil rights legislation. He hoped to stem the flow of African American voters switching to the Republicans. Johnson also acknowledged that in the late 1950's against the backdrop of BROWN and the Montgomery Bus Boycott the time was right for change. Many genuinely believe and the legislation proves that Johnson did really want to improve life for minorities and build a "Great Society".

## Crispus Attucks

Crispus Attucks was an African-American man killed during the Boston Massacre, making him the first casualty of the American Revolution.

### Synopsis

Crispus Attucks is believed to have been born around 1723, in Framingham, Massachusetts. His father was likely a slave and his mother a Natick Indian. A 1750 ad in the *Boston Gazette* sought the recovery of a runaway slave named "Crispas," but all that is definitely known about Attucks is that he was the first to fall during the Boston Massacre on March 5, 1770. In 1888, the Crispus Attucks monument was unveiled in Boston Common.



### Early Life

Born into slavery, Crispus Attucks was the son of Prince Yonger, a slave shipped to America from Africa, and Nancy Attucks, a Natick Indian. Little is known about Attucks' life, or his family, who resided in Framingham, Massachusetts, just outside Boston.

What has been pieced together paints a picture of a young man who showed an early skill for buying and trading goods. He seemed unafraid of the consequences for escaping the bonds of slavery. Historians have, in fact, pinpointed Attucks as the focus of an advertisement in a 1750 edition of the Boston Gazette in which a white landowner offered to pay 10 pounds for the return of a young runaway slave.

"Ran away from his Master William Brown from Framingham, on the 30th of Sept. last," the advertisement read. "A Molatto Fellow, about 27 Years of age, named Crispas, 6 Feet two Inches high, short curl'd Hair, his Knees nearer together than common: had on a light colour'd Bearskin Coat."

Attucks, however, managed to escape for good, spending the next two decades on trading ships and whaling vessels coming in and out of Boston. Attucks also found work as a rope maker.

## Revolutionary Hero

As British control over the colonies tightened, tensions escalated between the colonists and British soldiers. Attucks was one of those directly affected by the worsening situation. Seamen like Attucks constantly lived with the threat they could be forced into the British navy, while back on land, British soldiers regularly took part-time work away from colonists.

On March 2, 1770, a Friday, a fight erupted between a group of Boston rope makers and three British soldiers. Tensions were ratcheted up further three nights later when a British soldier looking for work entered a Boston pub, only to be greeted by a contingent of furious sailors, one of whom was Attucks.

The details regarding what followed have always been the source of debate, but that evening, a group of Bostonians approached a guard in front of the customs house and started taunting him. The situation quickly escalated. When a contingent of British redcoats came to the defense of their fellow soldier, more angry Bostonians joined the fracas, throwing snowballs and other items at the soldiers.

Attucks was one of those in the middle of the fight, and when the British opened fire he was the first of five men killed. His murder made him the first casualty of the American Revolution.

## Trial After the Boston Massacre

Quickly becoming known as the Boston Massacre, the episode further propelled the colonies toward war with the British. Flames were fanned even more when the soldiers involved in the incident were acquitted on the grounds of self defense. John Adams, who went on to become the second U.S. president, defended the soldiers in court. During the trial, Adams labeled the colonists an unruly mob that forced his clients to open fire.

Helping to lead the attack was Attucks, Adams charged, though debate has raged over how involved he was in the fight. One account claims he was simply "leaning on a stick" when the gunshots erupted.

## Phillis Wheatley

Poet (c. 1753–1784)

Phillis Wheatley was the first African American, the first slave, and the third woman in the United States to publish a book of poems.

In the late 18th century, slave poet Phillis Wheatley impressed everyone she met, proving to the world that the color of one's skin does not indicate one's intellect.

### QUOTES

"'Twas mercy brought me from my Pagan land, Taught my benighted soul to understand, That there's a God, that there's a Saviour too: Once I redemption neither sought nor knew. Some view our sable race with scornful eye, "Their color is a diabolic die." Remember, Christians, Negroes, black as Cain, May be refin'd, and join th' angelic train."

—Phillis Wheatley



### Synopsis

Born in Senegal about 1753, poet Phillis Wheatley was brought to Boston, Massachusetts, on a slave ship in 1761, and was purchased by John Wheatley as a personal servant to his wife. The Wheatleys educated Phillis, and she soon mastered Latin and Greek, and began writing poetry. She published her first poem at age 12, and her first volume of poetry, *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*, in 1773. She died in Boston in 1784.

### Early Years

A pioneering African-American poet, Phillis Wheatley was born in Senegal around 1753. At the age of 8, she was kidnapped and brought to Boston on a slave ship. Upon her arrival, John Wheatley purchased the young girl as a servant for his wife, Susanna.

Under the family's direction, Wheatley (who, as was the custom at the time, adopted her master's last name) was taken under Susanna's wing. While Wheatley suffered from poor health, her quick intelligence was hard to miss, and as a result, Susanna did not train her to be her servant.

Instead, Wheatley received lessons in theology, English, Latin and Greek. Ancient history was soon folded into the teachings, as were lessons in mythology and literature. Additionally, Wheatley, while still a slave, enjoyed limited restrictions on her life and became a part of the family. At a time when African Americans were discouraged and intimidated from learning how to read and write, Wheatley's life was an anomaly.

### ***Published Poet***

Wheatley wrote her first published poem at age 12. The work, a story about two men who nearly drown at sea, was printed in the *Newport Mercury*. Other published poems followed, with several also being published, further increasing Wheatley's fame.

In 1773, Wheatley gained considerable stature when her first and only book of poems, *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*, was published. Susanna Wheatley helped finance its publication. As proof of her authorship, the volume included a preface in which 17 Boston men claimed that she had indeed written the poems in it.

*Poems on Various Subjects* is a landmark achievement in American history. In publishing it, Wheatley became the first African American and first U.S. slave to publish a book of poems, as well as the third American woman to do so.

### ***Later Life***

Following the publication of her book, Wheatley traveled to London to promote her poems, and received medical treatment for a health ailment that she had been battling.

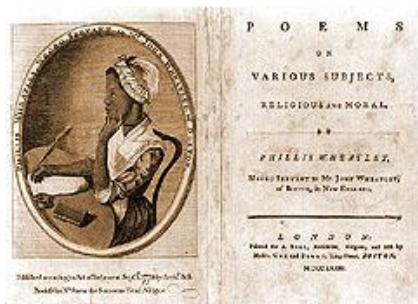
After her return to Boston, Wheatley's life changed significantly. While ultimately freed from slavery, she was devastated by the deaths of several Wheatley family members, including Susanna (d. 1774) and John (d. 1778).

In 1778, Wheatley married a free African American from Boston, John Peters, with who she had three children, all of whom died in infancy. Their marriage proved to be a struggle, with the couple battling constant poverty. Ultimately, Wheatley was forced to find work as a maid in a boarding house.

Wheatley did continue to write, but the growing tensions with the British and, ultimately, the Revolutionary War, weakened enthusiasm for her poems. While she contacted various publishers, she was unsuccessful in finding support for a second volume of poetry.

A strong supporter of America's fight for independence, Wheatley penned several poems in honor of the Continental Army's commander, George Washington. It's not certain whether Washington ever read her work.

Phillis Wheatley died in Boston, Massachusetts, on December 5, 1784.



When a London bookseller presented the manuscript of Phillis Wheatley's *Poems on Various Subjects* to the Countess of Huntingdon, the anti-slavery English noblewoman was reportedly "fond of having the book dedicated to her; but one thing she desir'd [was]...to have Phillis' picture in the frontispiece."

Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston

Scipio Moorhead not only painted portraits, but wrote verse as well. His artistic talents had been nurtured by the Reverend's wife, Sarah Moorhead, a teacher of art and drawing. His drawing of Phillis, said to be a fine likeness, was shipped to England to be engraved. When the book was published, it contained a poem, "To S.M. a young African Painter, on seeing his Works," in which Wheatley praised the artist and voiced her hopes that their collaboration would lead to his "immortal fame":

Still may the painter's and the poet's fire  
To aid thy pencil, and thy verse conspire!

### **"To the Right Honourable William, Earl of Dartmouth"**

The 1773 publication of Phillis Wheatley's *Poems on Various Subjects* established her as a young prodigy and challenged the major justification for enslavement of Africans -- the European assumption of African inferiority.

In the 18th century, Europeans generally assumed that Africans were subhuman, lacking the intellectual capacity for such higher order pursuits as creative writing and mathematics; consequently, Wheatley's book was prefaced by testimonies to its authenticity from her master and from 16 of Boston's most respected citizens, thereby establishing a literary convention of sorts for works by African Americans in the 18th and 19th centuries. Despite such testimonials, Thomas Jefferson was among those who questioned Wheatley's authorship.



One of the best-known poems in the collection is dedicated "To the Right Honourable William, Earl of Dartmouth, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for North-America, Etc." Wheatley was heartened by the appointment of Dartmouth, whom she had met in London and knew to be a friend of the abolitionist Countess of Huntingdon and of the late Reverend George Whitefield, who had helped launch the Great Awakening.

The poem opens with hopeful optimism that under Dartmouth's "blissful sway," the colonies will see "Freedom's charms unfold" and experience an end to the reign of "wanton Tyranny" that "meant t'enslave the land." Those lines provide a subtle yet powerful segue into the next verse, in which she proposes that her "love of Freedom" (and by implication, that of the black Patriots) springs from the anguish Africans have known as slaves.

"To the Right Honourable William, Earl of Dartmouth"

To the Right Honourable William, Earl of Dartmouth, His  
Mayesty's Principal Secretary of State for North-America, Etc.

*Hail, happy day, when, smiling like the morn,  
Fair Freedom rose New-England to adorn:  
The northern clime beneath her genial ray,  
Dartmouth, congratulates thy blissful sway:  
Elate with hope her race no longer mourns,  
Each soul expands, each grateful bosom burns,  
While in thine hand with pleasure we behold  
The silken reins, and Freedom's charms unfold.*

*Long lost to realms beneath the northern skies  
She shines supreme, while hated faction dies:  
Soon as appear'd the Goddess long desir'd,  
Sick at the view, she languish'd and expir'd;  
Thus from the splendors of the morning light  
The owl in sadness seeks the caves of night.*

*No more, America, in mournful strain  
Of wrongs, and grievance unredress'd complain,  
No longer shalt thou dread the iron chain,*

*Which wanton Tyranny with lawless hand  
Had made, and with it meant t' enslave the land.*

*Should you, my lord, while you peruse my song,  
Wonder from whence my love of Freedom sprung,  
Whence flow these wishes for the common good,  
By feeling hearts alone best understood,  
I, young in life, by seeming cruel fate  
Was snatch'd from Afric's fancy'd happy seat:  
What pangs excruciating must molest,  
What sorrows labour in my parent's breast?  
Steel'd was that son] and by no misery mov'd  
That from a father seiz'd his babe belov'd:  
Such, such my case. And can I then but pray  
Others may never feel tyrannic sway?*

*For favours past, great Sir, our thanks are due,  
And thee we ask thy favors to renew,  
Since in thy pow'r, as in thy will before,  
To sooth the griefs, which thou did'st once deplore.  
May heav'nly race the sacred sanction give  
To all thy worts, and thou for ever live  
Not only on the wings of fleeting Fame,  
Though praise immortal crowns the patriot's name,  
But to conduct to heav'n's refulgent fane,  
May fiery coursers sweep th' ethereal plain,  
And bear thee upwards to that blest abode,  
Where, like the prophet, thou shalt find thy God.*

*The Collected Works of Phillis Wheatley*, by John Shields, ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

**Benjamin Banneker**  
(1731–1806)



Benjamin Banneker -- author, scientist, mathematician, farmer, astronomer, publisher and urban planner -- was descended from enslaved Africans, an indentured English servant, and free men and women of color. His grandmother, Molly Welsh, was an English dairy maid who was falsely convicted of theft and indentured to a Maryland tobacco farmer. After working out her indenture, Welsh rented and farmed some land, eventually purchasing two African slaves whom she freed several years later.

In violation of Maryland law, Welsh wed one of her former slaves, Bannke or Bannaka, said to be the son of a chief. Their daughter Mary also married an African -- a man from Guinea who had been enslaved, baptized as Robert, and freed -- who took Banneker as his surname upon their marriage. In 1731, they named their first child Benjamin.

Young Benjamin grew up in Baltimore County, one of two hundred free blacks among a population of four thousand slaves and thirteen thousand whites. He was taught to read by his grandmother Molly, and briefly attended a one-room interracial school taught by a Quaker. He showed an early interest in mathematics and mechanics, preferring books to play.

At the age of 22, having seen only two timepieces in his lifetime -- a sundial and a pocket watching -- Banneker constructed a striking clock almost entirely out of wood, based on his own drawings and calculations. The clock continued to run until it was destroyed in a fire forty years later.

Banneker became friendly with the Ellicott brothers, who built a complex of gristmills in the 1770s. Like Banneker, George Ellicott was a mathematician and amateur astronomer. In 1788, with tools and books borrowed from Ellicott, Banneker nearly accurately predicted the timing of an eclipse of the sun, discovering later that his minor error was due to a discrepancy in his expert sources rather than a

miscalculation on his part.

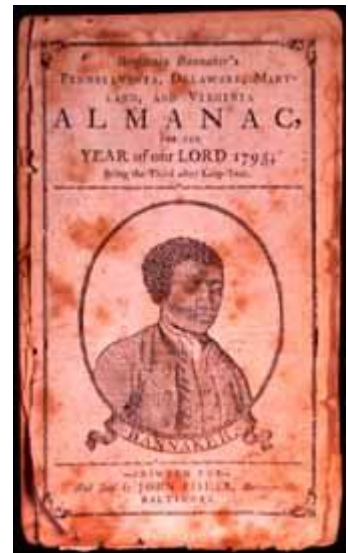
In 1791, Banneker accompanied Major Andrew Ellicott to the banks of the Potomac to assist him in surveying the new federal city that would become the nation's capital. A notice first printed in the Georgetown Weekly Ledger and later copied in other newspapers stated that Ellicott was "attended by Benjamin Banneker, an Ethiopian, whose abilities, as a surveyor, and an astronomer, clearly prove that Mr. Jefferson's concluding that race of men were void of mental endowments, was without foundation."

In 1792, Banneker published an Almanac, based on his own painstakingly calculated ephemeris (table of the position of celestial bodies), that also included commentaries, literature, and fillers that had a political and humanitarian purpose. The previous summer, he had sent a copy of the ephemeris to Thomas Jefferson, along with a letter in which he challenged Jefferson's ideas about the inferiority of blacks.

Between 1792 and 1797, Banneker published six almanacs in twenty-eight editions. He continued to live alone, selling off and renting his land, then giving the rest to the Ellicotts in exchange for a small pension. He died in 1806. On the day of his burial, his house and its contents (including his clock) caught fire and burned to the ground.

### **Benjamin Banneker's *Almanac***

The cover of Benjamin Banneker's 1795 Almanac features a woodcut portrait of the author, scientist, mathematician, farmer, astronomer, publisher and urban planner, at age 64. The unknown artist who created the portrait depicts Banneker in the Quaker garb he always wore, a simple dark jacket and white shirt -- although he was closely affiliated with Quakers, Banneker never became a member of the Religious Society of Friends.



The 1795 Almanac was one of six, published annually from 1792 to 1797.

In an era when books of any kind were a luxury found in few households, almanacs were common. They included scientific information, such as weather forecasts, tide tables, lunar and solar eclipses, and the times of the rising and setting of the sun and moon; they were also infused with mild poems,

proverbs, and other bits of general information.

What made Banneker's Almanacs innovative -- aside from the fact that they were produced by a black man in an age when African Americans were considered incapable of scientific, mathematical or literary accomplishment -- was the inclusion of commentaries, literature, and fillers that had a political and humanitarian purpose.

In the 1793 edition, Banneker included his correspondence with Thomas Jefferson, in which he challenged Jefferson's ideas, put forth in "Notes on the State of Virginia," about the inferiority of "a race of Beings who have long labored under the abuse and censure of the world." He also included poetry by Phillis Wheatley and English anti-slavery poet William Cowper, as well as anti-slavery speeches and essays from England and America.

Banneker's editors also prefaced the Almanac with laudatory references to him, such as this excerpt from the 1796 edition:

Not you ye proud, impute to these the blame  
If Afric's sons to genius are unknown,  
For Banneker has prov'd they may acquire a name  
As bright, as lasting, as your own.

### **Banneker's letter to Jefferson**

On August 19, 1791, Benjamin Banneker wrote a lengthy letter to Thomas Jefferson, then Secretary of State, in which "having taken up my pen in order to direct to you as a present, a copy of an Almanack... I was unexpectedly and unavoidably led" to develop a discourse on race and rights.

Banneker made it a point to "freely and Cheerfully acknowledge, that I am of the African race." Though not himself a slave, Banneker encouraged Jefferson to accept "the indispensable duty of those who maintain for themselves the rights of human nature," by ending the "State of tyrannical thralldom, and inhuman captivity, to which too many of my brethren are doomed."

Appealing to Jefferson's "measurably friendly and well-disposed" attitude toward blacks, Banneker presumed that he would "readily embrace every opportunity to eradicate that train of absurd and false ideas and opinions which so generally prevail with respect to us."

After acknowledging that by writing to Jefferson he was taking "a liberty which Seemed to me scarcely allowable," considering "the almost general prejudice and prepossession which is so prevalent in the world against those of my complexion," Banneker launched into a critical response to Jefferson's published ideas about the inferiority of blacks.

With restrained passion, Banneker chided Jefferson and other framers of the Declaration of Independence for the hypocrisy "in detaining by fraud and violence so numerous a part of my brethren under groaning captivity and cruel oppression, that you should at the Same time be found guilty of that most criminal act, which you professedly detested in others, with respect to yourselves."

Citing Jefferson's own words from the Declaration -- the "Self-Evident" truth "that all men are created equal" -- Banneker challenged Jefferson and his fellows "to wean yourselves from those narrow prejudices which you have imbibed with respect to" African Americans.

### **Banneker's letter to Jefferson**

*SIR,*

*I AM fully sensible of the greatness of that freedom, which I take with you on the present occasion; a liberty which seemed to me scarcely allowable, when I reflected on that distinguished and dignified station in which you stand, and the almost general prejudice and prepossession, which is so prevalent in the world against those of my complexion.*

*I suppose it is a truth too well attested to you, to need a proof here, that we are a race of beings, who have long labored under the abuse and censure of the world; that we have long been looked upon with an eye of contempt; and that we have long been considered rather as brutish than human, and scarcely capable of mental endowments.*

*Sir, I hope I may safely admit, in consequence of that report which hath reached me, that you are a man far less inflexible in sentiments of this nature, than many others; that you are measurably friendly, and well disposed towards us; and that you are willing and ready to lend your aid and assistance to our relief, from those many distresses, and numerous calamities, to which we are reduced. Now Sir, if this is founded in truth, I apprehend you will embrace every opportunity, to eradicate that train of absurd and false ideas and opinions, which so generally prevails with respect to us; and that your sentiments are concurrent*

*with mine, which are, that one universal Father hath given being to us all; and that he hath not only made us all of one flesh, but that he hath also, without partiality, afforded us all the same sensations and endowed us all with the same faculties; and that however variable we may be in society or religion, however diversified in situation or color, we are all of the same family, and stand in the same relation to him.*

*Sir, if these are sentiments of which you are fully persuaded, I hope you cannot but acknowledge, that it is the indispensable duty of those, who maintain for themselves the rights of human nature, and who possess the obligations of Christianity, to extend their power and influence to the relief of every part of the human race, from whatever burden or oppression they may unjustly labor under; and this, I apprehend, a full conviction of the truth and obligation of these principles should lead all to. Sir, I have long been convinced, that if your love for yourselves, and for those inestimable laws, which preserved to you the rights of human nature, was founded on sincerity, you could not but be solicitous, that every individual, of whatever rank or distinction, might with you equally enjoy the blessings thereof; neither could you rest satisfied short of the most active effusion of your exertions, in order to their promotion from any state of degradation, to which the unjustifiable cruelty and barbarism of men may have reduced them.*

*Sir, I freely and cheerfully acknowledge, that I am of the African race, and in that color which is natural to them of the deepest dye; and it is under a sense of the most profound gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, that I now confess to you, that I am not under that state of tyrannical thralldom, and inhuman captivity, to which too many of my brethren are doomed, but that I have abundantly tasted of the fruition of those blessings, which proceed from that free and unequalled liberty with which you are favored; and which, I hope, you will willingly allow you have mercifully received, from the immediate hand of that Being, from whom proceeded every good and perfect Gift.*

*Sir, suffer me to recall to your mind that time, in which the arms and tyranny of the British crown were exerted, with every powerful effort, in order to reduce you to a state of servitude : look back, I entreat you, on the variety of dangers to which you were exposed; reflect on that time, in which every human aid appeared unavailable, and in which even hope and fortitude wore the aspect of inability to the conflict, and you cannot but be led to a serious and grateful sense of your miraculous and providential preservation; you cannot but acknowledge, that the present freedom and tranquility which you enjoy you have mercifully received, and that it is the peculiar blessing of Heaven.*

*This, Sir, was a time when you clearly saw into the injustice of a state of slavery, and in which you had just apprehensions of the horrors of its condition. It was now that your abhorrence thereof was so excited, that you publicly held forth this true and invaluable doctrine, which is worthy to be recorded and*

*remembered in all succeeding ages : "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, and that among these are, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Here was a time, in which your tender feelings for yourselves had engaged you thus to declare, you were then impressed with proper ideas of the great violation of liberty, and the free possession of those blessings, to which you were entitled by nature; but, Sir, how pitiable is it to reflect, that although you were so fully convinced of the benevolence of the Father of Mankind, and of his equal and impartial distribution of these rights and privileges, which he hath conferred upon them, that you should at the same time counteract his mercies, in detaining by fraud and violence so numerous a part of my brethren, under groaning captivity and cruel oppression, that you should at the same time be found guilty of that most criminal act, which you professedly detested in others, with respect to yourselves.*

*I suppose that your knowledge of the situation of my brethren, is too extensive to need a recital here; neither shall I presume to prescribe methods by which they may be relieved, otherwise than by recommending to you and all others, to wean yourselves from those narrow prejudices which you have imbibed with respect to them, and as Job proposed to his friends, "put your soul in their souls' stead;" thus shall your hearts be enlarged with kindness and benevolence towards them; and thus shall you need neither the direction of myself or others, in what manner to proceed herein. And now, Sir, although my sympathy and affection for my brethren hath caused my enlargement thus far, I ardently hope, that your candor and generosity will plead with you in my behalf, when I make known to you, that it was not originally my design; but having taken up my pen in order to direct to you, as a present, a copy of an Almanac, which I have calculated for the succeeding year, I was unexpectedly and unavoidably led thereto.*

*This calculation is the production of my arduous study, in this my advanced stage of life; for having long had unbounded desires to become acquainted with the secrets of nature, I have had to gratify my curiosity herein, through my own assiduous application to Astronomical Study, in which I need not recount to you the many difficulties and disadvantages, which I have had to encounter.*

*And although I had almost declined to make my calculation for the ensuing year, in consequence of that time which I had allotted therefore, being taken up at the Federal Territory, by the request of Mr. Andrew Ellicott, yet finding myself under several engagements to Printers of this state, to whom I had communicated my design, on my return to my place of residence, I industriously applied myself thereto, which I hope I have accomplished with correctness and accuracy; a copy of which I have taken the liberty to direct to you, and which I humbly request you will favorably receive; and although you may have the opportunity of perusing it after its publication, yet I choose to send it to you in manuscript previous*



*thereto, that thereby you might not only have an earlier inspection, but that you might also view it in my own hand writing.*

*And now, Sir, I shall conclude, and subscribe myself, with the most profound respect, Your most obedient humble servant,*

*BENJAMIN BANNEKER.*

*University of Virginia*

### **Jefferson's reply to Banneker**

Less than two weeks after Benjamin Banneker wrote to Thomas Jefferson, challenging the democratic ideology that denied liberty and humanity to blacks, Jefferson sent him a polite response (dated August 30, 1791).

While repeatedly asserting the desirability of "such proofs as you exhibit...talents equal to those of the other colors of men," Jefferson fails to comment either on his impressions of the Almanac Banneker sent to him or on the critical issues that Banneker's letter raised.

Years later, in a letter to his friend Joel Barlow, Jefferson speculates that Banneker had help in developing the calculations for his Almanac, and refers to the "long letter from Banneker, which shows him to have had a mind of very common stature indeed..."

### **Jefferson's reply to Banneker**

To Mr. BENJAMIN BANNEKER.  
Philadelphia, August 30, 1791.

*SIR,*

*I THANK you, sincerely, for your letter of the 19th instant, and for the Almanac it contained. Nobody wishes more than I do, to see such proofs as you exhibit, that nature has given to our black brethren talents equal to those of the other colors of men; and that the appearance of the want of them, is owing*

*merely to the degraded condition of their existence, both in Africa and America. I can add with truth, that nobody wishes more ardently to see a good system commenced, for raising the condition, both of their body and mind, to what it ought to be, as far as the imbecility of their present existence, and other circumstances, which cannot be neglected, will admit.*

*I have taken the liberty of sending your Almanac to Monsieur de Condozett, Secretary of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, and Member of the Philanthropic Society, because I considered it as a document, to which your whole color had a right for their justification, against the doubts which have been entertained of them.*

*I am with great esteem, Sir, Your most obedient Humble Servant,*

*THOMAS JEFFERSON.  
University of Virginia*

## **RICHARD ALLEN**

(1760 – 1831)



Civil Rights Activist, Minister, Journalist (1760–1831)

### **Synopsis**

Minister, educator and writer Richard Allen was born into slavery in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on February 14, 1760. He converted to Methodism at age 17, and bought his freedom in 1783. In 1816, he founded the first national black church in the United States, the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He became an activist and abolitionist whose writings inspired Frederick Douglass and Martin Luther King Jr. He died in 1831.

### **Younger Years**

Minister, educator and writer Richard Allen was born into slavery in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on February 14, 1760. Known as "Negro Richard," he and his family were sold to a Delaware farmer, Stokeley Sturgis, in 1767.

Allen converted to Methodism at the age of 17, after hearing a white itinerant Methodist preacher rail against slavery. His owner, who had already sold Richard's mother and three siblings, also converted and eventually allowed Richard and his brother to purchase their freedom for \$2,000 each.

After attaining his freedom, Richard took the last name "Allen" and returned to Philadelphia. There, he worked at odd jobs, as a shoemaker and as manager of a chimney-sweeping company.

## **Early Religious and Social Work**

Allen soon joined St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church, where blacks and whites worshiped together. There, he became an assistant minister and conducted prayer meetings for blacks. Frustrated with the limitations the church placed on him and black parishioners, in 1787 Allen left the church with the intention of creating an independent Methodist church.

That same year, along with the Reverend Absalom Jones, Allen helped found the Free African Society, a non-denominational religious mutual-aid society dedicated to helping the black community. A century later, NAACP founder W.E.B. Du Bois called the FAS "the first wavering step of a people toward organized social life." In 1794, Allen and 10 other black Methodists founded the Bethel Church, a black Episcopal meeting, in an old blacksmith's shop. Bethel Church became known as "Mother Bethel" because it birthed the African Methodist Episcopal Church (1816). Helped by his wife, Sarah, Allen helped to hide escaped slaves. The basement of the Bethel Church was a stop on the "Underground Railroad" for blacks fleeing slavery.

## **Founding the African Methodist Episcopal Church**

In 1799, Allen became the first African American to be ordained in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Then, in 1816, with support from representatives from other black Methodist churches, Allen founded the first national black church in the United States, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and became its first bishop. Today, the AME Church boasts more than 2.5 million members.

Understanding the power of an economic boycott, Allen went on to form the Free Produce Society, where members would only purchase products from non-slave labor, in 1830. With a vision of equal treatment for all, he railed against slavery, influencing civil rights leaders such as Frederick Douglass and Martin Luther King Jr.

## **Death and Legacy**

Allen died in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on March 26, 1831.

In 2008, Richard Newman published a biography of Richard Allen, *Freedom's Prophet: Bishop Richard Allen, the AME Church and the Black Founding Fathers*, in which he suggested that Allen should be referred to as the "black founding father."

## Harriet Tubman Biography

Civil Rights Activist (c. 1820–1913)



Harriet Tubman escaped slavery to become a leading abolitionist. She led hundreds of enslaved people to freedom along the route of the Underground Railroad.

“I was the conductor of the Underground Railroad for eight years, and I can say what most conductors can't say; I never ran my train off the track and I never lost a passenger.”

—Harriet Tubman

Harriet Tubman - Union Spy (TV-PG; 01:44) During the Civil War Harriet Tubman volunteered to be a spy for the Union and successfully aided the Union in its effort to win the war.

### Synopsis

Harriet Tubman was an American bondswoman who escaped from slavery in the South to become a leading abolitionist before the American Civil War. She was born in Maryland in 1820, and successfully escaped in 1849. Yet she returned many times to rescue both family members and non-relatives from the plantation system. She led hundreds to freedom in the North as the most famous "conductor" on the Underground Railroad, an elaborate secret network of safe houses organized for that purpose.

## Early Life

Harriet Tubman was born to enslaved parents in Dorchester County, Maryland, and originally named Araminta Harriet Ross. Her mother, Harriet "Rit" Green, was owned by Mary Pattison Brodess. Her father, Ben Ross, was owned by Anthony Thompson, who eventually married Mary Brodess. Araminta, or "Minty," was one of nine children born to Rit and Ben between 1808 and 1832. While the year of Araminta's birth is unknown, it probably occurred between 1820 and 1825.

Minty's early life was full of hardship. Mary Brodess' son Edward sold three of her sisters to distant plantations, severing the family. When a trader from Georgia approached Brodess about buying Rit's youngest son, Moses, Rit successfully resisted the further fracturing of her family, setting a powerful example for her young daughter.

Physical violence was a part of daily life for Tubman and her family. The violence she suffered early in life caused permanent physical injuries. Harriet later recounted a particular day when she was lashed five times before breakfast. She carried the scars for the rest of her life. The most severe injury occurred when Tubman was an adolescent. Sent to a dry-goods store for supplies, she encountered a slave who had left the fields without permission. The man's overseer demanded that Tubman help restrain the runaway. When Harriet refused, the overseer threw a two-pound weight that struck her in the head. Tubman endured seizures, severe headaches and narcoleptic episodes for the rest of her life. She also experienced intense dream states, which she classified as religious experiences.

Around 1844 she married a free black named John Tubman and took his last name. (She was born Araminta Ross; she later changed her first name to Harriet, after her mother.) In 1849, in fear that she, along with the other slaves on the plantation, was to be sold, Tubman resolved to run away. She set out one night on foot. With some assistance from a friendly white woman, Tubman was on her way. She followed the North Star by night, making her way to Pennsylvania and soon after to Philadelphia, where she found work and saved her money.

The following year she returned to Maryland and escorted her sister and her sister's two children to freedom. She made the dangerous trip back to the South soon after to rescue her brother and two other men. On her third return, she went after her husband, only to find he had taken another wife. Undeterred, she found other slaves seeking freedom and escorted them to the North.

Tubman returned to the South again and again. She devised clever techniques that helped make her "forays" successful, including using the master's horse and buggy for the first leg of the journey; leaving on a Saturday night, since runaway notices couldn't be placed in newspapers until Monday morning; turning about and heading south if she encountered possible slave hunters; and carrying a

drug to use on a baby if its crying might put the fugitives in danger. Tubman even carried a gun which she used to threaten the fugitives if they became too tired or decided to turn back, telling them, "You'll be free or die."

By 1856, Tubman's capture would have brought a \$40,000 reward from the South. On one occasion, she overheard some men reading her wanted poster, which stated that she was illiterate. She promptly pulled out a book and feigned reading it. The ploy was enough to fool the men.

Tubman had made the perilous trip to slave country 19 times by 1860, including one especially challenging journey in which she rescued her 70-year-old parents. Of the famed heroine, who became known as "Moses," Frederick Douglass said, "Excepting John Brown -- of sacred memory -- I know of no one who has willingly encountered more perils and hardships to serve our enslaved people than [Harriet Tubman]."

And John Brown, who conferred with "General Tubman" about his plans to raid Harpers Ferry, once said that she was "one of the bravest persons on this continent."

Becoming friends with the leading abolitionists of the day, Tubman took part in antislavery meetings. On the way to such a meeting in Boston in 1860, in an incident in Troy, New York, she helped a fugitive slave who had been captured.

During the Civil War Harriet Tubman worked for the Union as a cook, a nurse, and even a spy. After the war she settled in Auburn, New York, where she would spend the rest of her long life. She died in 1913.

## The Underground Railroad 1780 – 1862



The Underground Railroad was neither underground nor a railroad. It got its name because its activities had to be carried out in secret, using darkness or disguise, and because railway terms were used by those involved with system to describe how it worked. Various routes were lines, stopping places were called stations, those who aided along the way were conductors and their charges were known as packages or freight. The network of routes extended through 14 Northern states and “the promised land” of Canada—beyond the reach of fugitive-slave hunters. Those who most actively assisted slaves to escape by way of the “railroad” were members of the free black community (including former slaves like Harriet Tubman), Northern abolitionists, philanthropists and church leaders like Quaker Thomas Garrett. Harriet Beecher Stowe, famous for her novel *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, gained firsthand knowledge of the plight of fugitive slaves through contacts with the Underground Railroad in Cincinnati, Ohio.

The *Underground Railroad* was the term used to describe a network of persons who helped escaped slaves on their way to freedom in the northern states or Canada.



The Underground Railroad, a vast network of people who helped fugitive slaves escape to the North and to Canada, was not run by any single organization or person. Rather, it consisted of many individuals -- many whites but predominantly black -- who knew only of the local efforts to aid fugitives and not of the overall operation. Still, it effectively moved hundreds of slaves northward each year -- according to one estimate, the South lost 100,000 slaves between 1810 and 1850. Although George Washington had commented upon such practices by the Quakers as early as the 1780s, the term gained currency in the 1830s, as northern abolitionists became more vocal and southern suspicions of threats to their peculiar institution grew.

*Rewards offered by slaveholders for the capture of Harriet Tubman eventually totaled \$40,000.*

The popular perception of a well-coordinated system of Quaker, Covenanter, and Methodist "conductors" secretly helping fugitives from "station" to "station" is an exaggeration. The practice involved more spontaneity than the railroad analogy suggests. By the time escapees reached areas where sympathetic persons might assist them, they had already completed the most difficult part of their journey. A successful escape was usually less the product of coordinated assistance and more a matter of the runaways' resourcefulness--and a great deal of luck.

The most active of the Railroad workers were northern free blacks, who had little or no support from white abolitionists. The most famous "conductor," an escaped slave named Harriet Tubman, reportedly made nineteen return trips to the South; she helped some three hundred slaves escape. A number of individual whites also aided runaways, as did "vigilance committees," often biracial in character, in northern cities.

Estimates of the number of slaves assisted vary widely, but only a minuscule fraction of those held in bondage ever escaped. Few, particularly from the Lower South, even attempted the arduous journey north. But the idea of organized "outsiders" undermining the institution of slavery angered white southerners, leading to their demands in the 1840s that the Fugitive Slave Laws be strengthened.

For the slave, running away to the North was anything but easy. The first step was to escape from the slaveholder. For many slaves, this meant relying on his or her own resources. Sometimes a "conductor," posing as a slave, would enter a plantation and then guide the runaways northward. The fugitives would move at night. They would generally travel between 10 and 20 miles to the next station, where they would rest and eat, hiding in barns and other out-of-the-way places. While they waited, a message would be sent to the next station to alert its stationmaster.

The fugitives would also travel by train and boat -- conveyances that sometimes had to be paid for. Money was also needed to improve the appearance of the runaways -- a black man, woman, or child in

tattered clothes would invariably attract suspicious eyes. This money was donated by individuals and also raised by various groups, including vigilance committees.

Vigilance committees sprang up in the larger towns and cities of the North, most prominently in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. In addition to soliciting money, the organizations provided food, lodging and money, and helped the fugitives settle into a community by helping them find jobs and providing letters of recommendation.

The Underground Railroad had many notable participants, including John Fairfield in Ohio, the son of a slaveholding family, who made many daring rescues, Levi Coffin, a Quaker who assisted more than 3,000 slaves, and Harriet Tubman, who made 19 trips into the South and escorted over 300 slaves to freedom.

## Who Really Ran the Underground Railroad?

One of the genuine pleasures of teaching African-American Studies today is the satisfaction of being able to restore to the historical record “lost” events and the individuals whose sacrifices and bravery created those events, never to be lost again. Few institutions from the black past have attracted more attention recently from teachers, students, museum curators and the tourism industry than the Underground Railroad, one of the most venerable and philanthropic innovations in our ancestors’ long and dreadful history in human bondage. But in the zeal to tell the story of this great institution, legend and lore have sometimes overwhelmed historical facts. Separating fact from fiction — always an essential part of telling it like it really was — has required a great deal of effort from a number of scholars. Doing so only makes the sacrifices and heroism of our ancestors and their allies all the more noble, heroic and impressive.

Sometimes when I hear our students talk about the Underground Railroad, it seems to me that they are under the impression that it was akin to a black, Southern Grand Central Station, with regularly scheduled routes that hundreds of thousands of slave “passengers” used to escape from Southern plantations, aided by that irrepressible, stealthy double agent, Harriet Tubman. Many also seem to believe that thousands of benign, incognito white “conductors” routinely hid the slaves in secret rooms concealed in attics or basements, or behind the staircases of numerous “safe houses,” the locations of which were coded in “freedom quilts” sewn by the slaves and hung in their windows as guideposts for fugitives on the run.

The “railroad” itself, according to this legend, was composed of “a chain of stations leading from the Southern states to Canada,” as Wilbur H. Siebert put it in his massive pioneering (and often wildly romantic) study, *The Underground Railroad* (1898), or “a series of hundreds of interlocking ‘lines,’ ” that ran from Alabama or Mississippi, throughout the South, all the way across the Ohio River and the Mason-Dixon Line, as the historian David Blight summarizes in *Passages to Freedom: The Underground Railroad in History and Memory* (a book, by the way, that should be required reading for all of us who want to understand the truth about the Underground Railroad and its important role in African-American history, as well as Fergus M. Bordewich’s *Bound for Canaan: The Epic Story of the Underground Railroad, America’s First Civil Rights Movement*). Fleeing slaves, often entire families, were allegedly guided at night in their desperate quest for freedom by the proverbial “Drinking Gourd,” the slave’s code name for the North Star.

## The Railroad in Lore

A partial list of some of the most common myths about the Underground Railroad would include the following:

1. Well-intentioned white abolitionists, many of whom were Quakers, ran it.
2. The Underground Railroad operated throughout the South.
3. Most fugitive slaves who made it to the North found sanctuary along the way in secret rooms concealed in attics or cellars, and many escaped through tunnels.
4. Slaves created so-called “freedom quilts” and hung them at the windows of their homes to alert escaping fugitives to the location of safe houses and secure routes north to freedom.
5. The Underground Railroad was a large-scale activity that enabled hundreds of thousands of people to escape their bondage.
6. Entire families commonly escaped together.
7. The spiritual “Steal Away” was used to alert slaves that Harriet Tubman would be coming to town, or that an opportune time to flee was at hand.

Scholars such as Larry Gara in his book *The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad* and Blight, among others, have worked diligently to address all of these points, and I’ll summarize the correct answers based on their work, and that of others, at the end of this article. First, a short history of the Underground Railroad:

## A Meme Is Born

The Railroad has proven to be one of the most “enduring and popular threads in the fabric of America’s national historical memory,” as Blight rightly puts it. Since the end of the 19th century, many Americans — especially in New England and the Midwest — have either fabricated stories about the exploits of their ancestors or simply repeated tales they have heard. However, before we tackle those tales, it’s worth looking at the origins of the term “Underground Railroad.”

Various explanations exist for how it was coined. Tice Davids was a Kentucky slave who successfully escaped to Ohio in 1831, and the term “Underground Railroad” may have been coined based on his escape. His owner had been pursuing Davids but lost track of him in Ohio. It is said he claimed that Davids disappeared as if “the nigger must have gone off on an underground railroad,” according to Blight. I love this story — an account worthy of Richard Pryor — but this seems unlikely, since rail lines barely existed at this time.

Two other possibilities exist. One story from 1839 claims that a fugitive slave from Washington, D.C., was tortured and confessed that he had been sent north, where “the railroad ran underground all the

way to Boston.” If one checks the *Liberator* newspaper, however, the first time the term appears is on Oct. 11, 1839, in which an editorial by Hiram Wilson from Toronto called for the creation of “a great republican railroad ... constructed from Mason and Dixon’s to the Canada line, upon which fugitives from slavery might come pouring into this province.”

The actual phrase “Underground Railroad” first appeared in the *Liberator* on Oct. 14, 1842, a date that may be buttressed by those who assert that the abolitionist Charles T. Torrey coined the phrase in 1842. In any event, as David Blight states, the phrase did not become common until the mid-1840s.

### Myth Battles Counter-Myth

The appeal of romance and fancy in stories of the Underground Railroad can be traced to the latter decades of the 19th century, when the South was winning the battle of popular memory over the meaning of the Civil War — sending Lost Cause mythology deep into the national psyche and eventually helping to propel the Virginia-born racist Woodrow Wilson into the White House. In the face of a dominating Southern interpretation of the meaning of the Civil War, many white Northerners sought to preserve a heroic version of their past and found a useful tool in legends of the Underground Railroad.

Often well-meaning white people crafted “romantic adventure stories — about themselves,” as Blight puts it, stories that placed white “conductors” in heroic and romantic roles in the struggle for black freedom, stealing agency from supposedly helpless and nameless African Americans (who braved the real dangers), a counterpart to popular images of a saintly, erect Abraham Lincoln bequeathing freedom to passive, kneeling slaves. With the collapse of Reconstruction in 1876 — often blamed on supposedly ignorant or corrupt black people — the winning of freedom became a tale of noble, selfless white efforts on behalf of a downtrodden, faceless, nameless, “inferior” race.

Much of contemporary misunderstanding and myth about the Underground Railroad originated with Wilbur Siebert’s 1898 study. Siebert interviewed nearly everyone still living who had some memory related to the network and even traveled to Canada to interview former slaves who traced their own routes from the South to freedom.

While Siebert ignored the most fanciful stories he heard, he placed far too much emphasis on the work of so-called white conductors and depicted the experience as a very systematic and interrelated series of way stations and routes — which he traced in detailed maps — not unlike a railroad line or system of rail lines. As David Blight remarks, Siebert “fashioned a popular story of primarily white conductors helping nameless blacks to freedom.”

## Truth Reveals Unheralded Heroism

That's a bit of the history; what of those myths? Here are the answers:

1. The Underground Railroad and the abolition movement itself were perhaps the first instances in American history of a genuinely interracial coalition, and the role of the Quakers in its success cannot be gainsaid. It was, nevertheless, predominantly run by free Northern African Americans, especially in its earliest years, most notably the great Philadelphian William Still. He operated with the assistance of white abolitionists, many of whom were Quakers.

White and black activists such as Levi Coffin, Thomas Garrett, Calvin Fairbank, Charles Torrey, Harriet Tubman and Still were genuine heroes of the Underground Railroad. William Still himself, according to James Horton, recorded the rescue of 649 fugitives sheltered in Philadelphia, including 16 who arrived on one day alone, June 1, 1855, according to Blight.

The Railroad's expansion did not occur until after 1850, following the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act. But very few people, relatively speaking, engaged in its activities. After all, it was *illegal* to assist slaves escaping to their freedom. Violating the 1850 Act could lead to charges of "constructive treason." Being an abolitionist or a conductor on the Underground Railroad, the historian Donald Yacovone related in an email to me, "was about as popular and as dangerous as being a member of the Communist Party in 1955."

2. The Underground Railroad was primarily a *Northern* phenomenon. It operated mainly in the Free States, which stands to reason. Fugitive slaves were largely on their own until they crossed the Ohio River or the Mason-Dixon Line, thereby reaching a Free State. It was then that the Underground Railroad could take effect. There were well-established routes and conductors in *the North*, and some informal networks that could move a fugitive from, say, the abolitionists' office or homes in Philadelphia to various points north and west. Some organized assistance was also available in Washington, D.C., where slavery remained legal until 1862 and in a few places in the Upper South. And some slaves were assisted in escaping from Southern seaports, but relatively few.

3. Those tunnels or secret rooms in attics, garrets, cellars or basements? Not many, I'm afraid. Most fugitive slaves spirited themselves out of towns under the cover of darkness, not through tunnels, the construction of which would have been huge undertakings and quite costly. And few homes in the North had secret passageways or hidden rooms in which slaves could be concealed.

4. Freedom quilts? Simply put, this is one of the oddest myths propagated in all of African-American history. If a slave family had the wherewithal to make a quilt, they used it to protect themselves against the cold, and not to send messages about supposed routes on the Underground Railroad in the North,

where they had never been! However, sometimes, on occasion, messages of all sorts were given out at black church gatherings and prayer meetings, but not about the day and time that Harriet Tubman would be coming to town. The risk of betrayal about individual escapes and collective rebellions, as we shall see in a future column, was far too great for escape plans to be widely shared.

5. How many slaves actually escaped to a new life in the North, in Canada, Florida or Mexico? No one knows for sure. Some scholars say that the soundest estimate is a range between 25,000 and 40,000, while others top that figure at 50,000. The National Underground Railroad Freedom Center in Cincinnati says that number could be as high as 100,000, according to Elizabeth Pierce, an official there, though that seems quite optimistic to me.

We can put these estimates in perspective by remembering that in 1860 there were 3.9 *million slaves*, and only 488,070 free Negroes (more than half of whom were still living in the South), while in 1850 there were 434,495 free Negroes. Since these figures would include those fugitives who had made it to the North on the Underground Railroad, plus natural increase, we can see how small the numbers of fugitive slaves who actually made it to the North in this decade, for example, unfortunately were.

It's also important to remember that only 101 fugitive slaves ever published book-length "slave narratives" about their enslavement before the end of the Civil War. But astonishingly, more than 50,000 slaves ran away not to the North, but "within the South," according to John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger's pioneering study, *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation*, "annually during the late antebellum period," as Blight informs us. But few of them made it to freedom.

6. Who escaped? Whole families? According to John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger, as Blight summarizes, "80 percent of these fugitives were young males in their teens and twenties who generally absconded alone. Indeed, [between 1838 and 1860] 95 percent fled alone. Young slave women were much less likely to run away because of their family and child-rearing responsibilities. Entire families with children did attempt flights to freedom, but such instances were rare."

Moreover, according to scholar John Michael Vlach, one abolitionist, W.H. Lyford in 1896 reported that he could not recall "any fugitives ever being transported by anyone, they always had to pilot their own canoe, with the little help that they received," suggesting that "the greatest number of fugitives were self-emancipating individuals who, upon reaching a point in their lives when they could no longer tolerate their captive status, finally just took off for what had to be a better place."

7. "Steal Away"? African Americans were geniuses at inventing coded languages to communicate surreptitiously with each other, in double-voiced discourses that the master and overseer couldn't understand. And the Grapevine was a real invention, commented upon as early as 1775 by none other

than John Adams himself. However, for reasons of safety, privacy, security and protection, most slaves who ran away did so singly and surreptitiously, and didn't risk their own safety by informing many people outside of their families about their plans, for fear of betrayal.

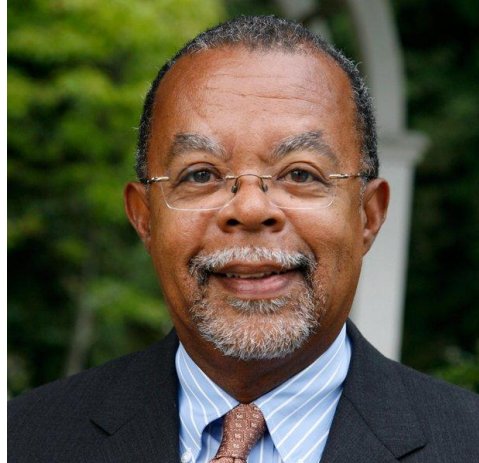
I wish it had been otherwise, but the escape and rescue of fugitive slaves simply didn't happen in the ways suggested by the most common myths about the Underground Railroad. Just think about it for a minute: If escaping slavery had been this systematically organized and maintained, slavery would most probably have collapsed long before the Civil War, right?

It should not surprise us that very few slaves escaped from slavery. The "Underground Railroad" was a marvelously improvised, metaphorical construct run by courageous heroes, most of whom were black: "Much of what we call the Underground Railroad," Blight writes, "was actually operated clandestinely by African Americans themselves through urban vigilance committees and rescue squads that were often led by free blacks."

Unfortunately, the Underground Railroad was not the 19th century's equivalent of Grand Central Station, despite the fanciful claim for that title by the editor of the Weekly News of Oberlin, Ohio, in 1885 for a piece on his town's pivotal role in aiding fugitives to escape. The bottom line for Blight, citing Gara's research, was that "running away was a frightening and dangerous proposition for slaves, and the overall numbers who risked it, or for that matter succeeded in reaching freedom, were 'not large.' " It did succeed in aiding thousands of brave slaves, each of whom we should remember as heroes of African-American history, but not nearly as many as we commonly imagine, and most certainly not enough.



**Henry Louis Gates, Jr.**  
(1950 -



Born on September 16, 1950, in Keyser, West Virginia, Henry Louis Gates, Jr. travelled and studied internationally before becoming the head of Harvard's African-American studies department.

Henry Louis Gates, Jr., is the Alphonse Fletcher University Professor and Director of the Hutchins Center for African and African American Research at Harvard University. Emmy Award-winning filmmaker, Historian, literary scholar, journalist, cultural critic, and institution builder, Professor Gates has authored seventeen books and created fourteen documentary films, including *Finding Your Roots*, season two, now airing on PBS. His six-part PBS documentary series, *The African Americans: Many Rivers to Cross* (2013), which he wrote, executive produced, and hosted, earned the Emmy Award for Outstanding Historical Program—Long Form, as well as the Peabody Award and NAACP Image Award. Having written for such leading publications as *The New Yorker*, *The New York Times*, and *Time*, Professor Gates now serves as editor-in-chief of *TheRoot.com*, a daily online magazine, while overseeing the Oxford African American Studies Center, the first comprehensive scholarly online resource in the field. In 2012, *The Henry Louis Gates, Jr. Reader*, a collection on his writings, was published. Professor Gates's latest book is *Finding Your Roots: The Official Companion to the PBS Series*, released by the University of North Carolina Press in 2014.

Previously for PBS, Professor Gates produced and hosted *Wonders of the African World* (1999), *America Beyond the Color Line* (2004), *African American Lives* (2006), *Oprah's Roots* (2007), *African*

American Lives 2 (2008), Looking for Lincoln (2009), Faces of America (2010), Black in Latin America (2011), and Finding Your Roots, season one (2012).

The recipient of fifty-three honorary degrees and numerous prizes, Professor Gates was a member of the first class awarded “genius grants” by the MacArthur Foundation in 1981, and in 1998, he became the first African American scholar to be awarded the National Humanities Medal. He was named to *Time’s* 25 Most Influential Americans list in 1997, to *Ebony’s* Power 150 list in 2009, and to *Ebony’s* Power 100 list in 2010 and 2012. He earned his B.A. in English Language and Literature, *summa cum laude*, from Yale University in 1973, and his M.A. and Ph.D. in English Literature from Clare College at the University of Cambridge in 1979. Professor Gates has directed the W. E. B. Institute for African and African American Research—now the Hutchins Center—since arriving at Harvard in 1991, and during his first fifteen years on campus, he chaired the Department of Afro-American Studies as it expanded into the Department of African and African American Studies with a full-fledged doctoral program. He also is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters and serves on a wide array of boards, including the New York Public Library, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, the Aspen Institute, Jazz at Lincoln Center, the Whitney Museum of American Art, Library of America, and the Brookings Institution.

In 2006, he was inducted into the Sons of the American Revolution after tracing his lineage back to John Redman, a Free Negro who fought in the Revolutionary War.

*Milestones in Henry Louis Gates Jr.'s ancestry:*

☐ 1775 George Washington opens enlistment in the Continental Army to free blacks. Over the course of the Revolutionary War, approximately 5,000 African American men join the American side, fighting in integrated military units. Among them is Skip Gates's fifth great grandfather John Redman.

☐ 1823 Joe and Sarah Bruce, great, great, great, great grandparents of Skip Gates, are freed by Abraham van Meter of Hardy County, Virginia, when he dies. The first federal census in 1790 recorded nearly 60,000 free blacks and more than 690,000 slaves living in the U.S.

## **African American Scientists & Inventors**

During slavery, most black slaves were denied formal education and in fact many laws were passed in the South prohibiting slave literacy in the aftermath of various slave rebellions. Even free blacks in the century before and after the Civil War were limited in their access to mainstream, quality education and vocational training.

This limited education and training meant that, for the most part, blacks were shut out of professional occupations and confined to working in industries deemed acceptable for them, such as domestic services, some manual trades, and agriculture. Nevertheless a small number of exceptionally talented blacks were able to obtain an education and, through their life's work, make significant contributions to American life.

### **Scientists**

Two early African-American scientists, namely mathematician and astronomer Benjamin Banneker and agricultural chemist George Washington Carver, have become legendary for their intellect and ingenuity.

Born free in Maryland, Banneker was largely self-taught. He constructed the first striking clock to be made in America, helped survey the boundaries for Washington, D.C., and published an almanac, which he compiled based on his own astronomical observations and calculations.

Carver was born into slavery at the very end of the Civil War. He attended Iowa State College of Agriculture, where he received degrees in agricultural science. During his career as a researcher and educator, he advocated innovative agricultural methods and developed hundreds of applications for certain agricultural products, such as the peanut.

Although Banneker and Carver are probably the best-known black scientists, they were not the only ones. The achievements of a selection of pioneering black scientists, including Banneker and Carver, are outlined in the list of African American Scientists below.

### **Inventors**

Unlike black slaves, free blacks prior to the Civil War were entitled to receive patents for their inventions. Though, again, because blacks lacked educational and vocational opportunities, few had the necessary skills or experience to develop their inventive ideas or patent them.

Despite these constraints, there were a number of successful black inventors whose inventions proved useful and important. Thomas Jennings, the first known African American to hold a patent, used the money he earned from his invention to fund abolitionist causes.

Some slaves, who were skilled craftsmen, did create devices or techniques that benefited their masters' enterprises. According to a decision by the federal government in 1858, though, neither the slave nor the slave owner could claim ownership rights to such an invention. In 1870, following the Civil War, the U.S. patent laws were revised so that anyone, regardless of race, could hold a patent. Consequently the number of patents issued to African Americans soared. Below is a list of some notable African-American inventors.

<b>African American Scientists</b>		
<b>Benjamin Banneker</b> <b>(1731-1806)</b>		Born into a family of free blacks in Maryland, Banneker learned the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic from his grandmother and a Quaker schoolmaster. Later he taught himself advanced mathematics and astronomy. He is best known for publishing an almanac based on his astronomical calculations.
<b>Rebecca Cole</b> <b>(1846-1922)</b>		Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Cole was the second black woman to graduate from medical school (1867). She joined Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, the first white woman physician, in New York and taught hygiene and childcare to families in poor neighborhoods.
<b>Edward Alexander Bouchet</b> <b>(1852-1918)</b>		Born in New Haven, Connecticut, Bouchet was the first African American to graduate (1874) from Yale College. In 1876, upon receiving his Ph.D. in physics from Yale, he became the first African American to earn a doctorate. Bouchet spent his career teaching college chemistry and physics.
<b>Dr. Daniel Hale Williams</b> <b>(1856-1931)</b>		Williams was born in Pennsylvania and attended medical school in Chicago, where he received his M.D. in 1883. He founded the Provident Hospital in Chicago in 1891, and he performed the first successful open heart surgery in 1893.

<b>George Washington Carver (1865?-1943)</b>	Born into slavery in Missouri, Carver later earned degrees from Iowa Agricultural College. The director of agricultural research at the Tuskegee Institute from 1896 until his death, Carver developed hundreds of applications for farm products important to the economy of the South, including the peanut, sweet potato, soybean, and pecan.
<b>Charles Henry Turner (1867-1923)</b>	A native of Cincinnati, Ohio, Turner received a B.S. (1891) and M.S. (1892) from the University of Cincinnati and a Ph.D. (1907) from the University of Chicago. A noted authority on the behavior of insects, he was the first researcher to prove that insects can hear.
<b>Ernest Everett Just (1883-1941)</b>	Originally from Charleston, South Carolina, Just attended Dartmouth College and the University of Chicago, where he earned a Ph.D. in zoology in 1916. Just's work on cell biology took him to marine laboratories in the U.S. and Europe and led him to publish more than 50 papers.

<b>Archibald Alexander (1888-1958)</b>	Iowa-born Alexander attended Iowa State University and earned a civil engineering degree in 1912. While working for an engineering firm, he designed the Tidal Basin Bridge in Washington, D.C. Later he formed his own company, designing Whitehurst Freeway in Washington, D.C. and an airfield in Tuskegee, Alabama, among other projects.
<b>Roger Arliner Young (1889-1964)</b>	Ms. Young was born in Virginia and attended Howard University, University of Chicago, and University of Pennsylvania, where she earned a Ph.D. in zoology in 1940. Working with her mentor, Ernest E. Just, she published a number of important studies.
<b>Percy L. Julian (1899-</b>	Alabama-born Julian held a bachelor's degree from DePauw University, a master's degree from Harvard University, and a Ph.D. from the University of Vienna. His most famous achievement is his synthesis of cortisone, which is used to treat

<b>1975)</b>	arthritis and other inflammatory diseases.
<b>Dr. Charles Richard Drew (1904-1950)</b>	Born in Washington, D.C., Drew earned advanced degrees in medicine and surgery from McGill University in Montreal, Quebec, in 1933 and from Columbia University in 1940. He is particularly noted for his research in blood plasma and for setting up the first blood bank.
<b>Emmett Chappelle (1925-)</b>	Born in Phoenix, Arizona, Chappelle earned a B.S. from the University of California and an M.S. from the University of Washington. He joined NASA in 1977 as a remote sensing scientist. Among Chappelle's discoveries is a method (developed with Grace Picciolo) of instantly detecting bacteria in water, which led to the improved diagnoses of urinary tract infections.
<b>James West (b. 1931)</b>	James West was born in 1931 in Prince Edward County, Virginia, and studied physics at Temple University. Specializing in microphones, West went on to author 200 patents and more than 60 technical and scientific publications. In 1962, with Gerhard Sessler, West developed the foil electret microphone, which became the industry standard. Approximately 90% of microphones in use today are based on this invention and almost all telephones utilize it, as well as tape recorders, camcorders, baby monitors and hearing aids.
<b>Philip Emeagwali (b. 1954)</b>	Born in Nigeria in 1954, Philip Emeagwali's determination to succeed grew out of a life of poverty and little formal education. An expert in mathematics, physics, and astronomy, Emeagwali won the Institute of Electronics and Electrical Engineers' Gordon Bell Prize in 1989 for an experiment that used 65,000 processors to perform the world's fastest computation of 3.1 billion calculations per second. Emeagwali's computers are currently being used to forecast the weather and predict future global warming.

<b>Aprille Ericsson (b. 1963)</b>	Born and raised in Brooklyn, N. Y., M.I.T graduate Aprille Ericsson was the first female (and the first African-American female) to receive a Ph.D. in mechanical engineering from Howard University and the first African-American female to receive a Ph.D. in engineering at the NASA Goddard Space Flight Center. Ericsson has won many awards, including the 1997 "Women in Science and Engineering" award for the best female engineer in the federal government, and she is currently the instrument manager for a proposed mission to bring dust from the Martian lower atmosphere back to Earth.
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### African American Inventors

<b>Thomas L. Jennings (1791-1859)</b>	A tailor in New York City, Jennings is credited with being the first African American to hold a U.S. patent. The patent, which was issued in 1821, was for a dry-cleaning process.
<b>Norbert Rillieux (1806-1894)</b>	Born the son of a French planter and a slave in New Orleans, Rillieux was educated in France. Returning to the U.S., he developed an evaporator for refining sugar, which he patented in 1846. Rillieux's evaporation technique is still used in the sugar industry and in the manufacture of soap and other products.
<b>Benjamin Bradley (1830?-?)</b>	A slave, Bradley was employed at a printing office and later at the Annapolis Naval Academy, where he helped set up scientific experiments. In the 1840s he developed a steam engine for a war ship. Unable to patent his work, he sold it and with the proceeds purchased his freedom.
<b>Elijah McCoy (1844-1929)</b>	The son of escaped slaves from Kentucky, McCoy was born in Canada and educated in Scotland. Settling in Detroit, Michigan, he invented a lubricator for steam engines (patented 1872) and established his own manufacturing company. During his lifetime he acquired 57 patents
<b>Lewis Howard Latimer</b>	Born in Chelsea, Mass., Latimer learned mechanical drawing while working for a Boston patent attorney. He later invented an electric lamp and a carbon

<b>(1848-1929)</b>	filament for light bulbs (patented 1881, 1882). Latimer was the only African-American member of Thomas Edison's engineering laboratory.
<b>Granville T. Woods (1856-1910)</b>	Woods was born in Columbus, Ohio, and later settled in Cincinnati. Largely self-educated, he was awarded more than 60 patents. One of his most important inventions was a telegraph that allowed moving trains to communicate with other trains and train stations, thus improving railway efficiency and safety.
<b>Madame C.J. Walker (1867-1919)</b>	Widowed at 20, Louisiana-born Sarah Breedlove Walker supported herself and her daughter as a washerwoman. In the early 1900s she developed a hair care system and other beauty products. Her business, headquartered in Indianapolis, Indiana, amassed a fortune, and she became a generous patron of many black charities.
<b>Garrett Augustus Morgan (1877-1963)</b>	Born in Kentucky, Morgan invented a gas mask (patented 1914) that was used to protect soldiers from chlorine fumes during World War I. Morgan also received a patent (1923) for a traffic signal that featured automated STOP and GO signs. Morgan's invention was later replaced by traffic lights.
<b>Frederick McKinley Jones (1892-1961)</b>	Jones was born in Cincinnati, Ohio. An experienced mechanic, he invented a self-starting gas engine and a series of devices for movie projectors. More importantly, he invented the first automatic refrigeration system for long-haul trucks (1935). Jones was awarded more than 40 patents in the field of refrigeration.
<b>David Crosthwait, Jr. (1898-1976)</b>	Born in Nashville, Tennessee, Crosthwait earned a B.S. (1913) and M.S. (1920) from Purdue University. An expert on heating, ventilation, and air conditioning, he designed the heating system for Radio City Music Hall in New York. During his lifetime he received some 40 U.S. patents relating to HVAC systems.
<b>Patricia Bath (1942-)</b>	Born in Harlem, New York, Bath holds a bachelor's degree from Hunter College and an M.D. from Howard University. She is a co-founder of the American Institute for the Prevention of Blindness. Bath is best known for her invention of the Laserphaco Probe for the treatment of cataracts.



<b>Mark Dean (1957-)</b>	Dean was born in Jefferson City, Tennessee, and holds a bachelor's degree from the University of Tennessee, a master's degree from Florida Atlantic University, and a Ph.D. from Stanford University. He led the team of IBM scientists that developed the ISA bus—a device that enabled computer components to communicate with each other rapidly, which made personal computers fast and efficient for the first time. Dean also led the design team responsible for creating the first one-gigahertz computer processor chip. He was inducted into the National Inventors Hall of Fame in 1997.
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## DISCRIMINATION

Most economists are fully aware of two economic theories of discrimination, animus-based discrimination and statistical discrimination (. Be on the lookout for institutional discrimination, which we want to remove from our classrooms and profession but include in lessons about how discrimination can affect economic markets.

### Animus-Based (or Taste-Based) Discrimination

(Animus-Based (or Taste-Based) Discrimination occurs when agents' personal prejudices or "tastes" against associating with members of a particular group (in a particular way) affect their treatment of those individuals. This theory originated in Gary Becker's 1957 book *The Economics of Discrimination*. Typically, it is characterized by certain actors preferring not to interact with a particular group of people and therefore paying an economic price to avoid these interactions.)

### Statistical discrimination

Statistical Discrimination occurs when agents use an observable characteristic of an individual to make inferences about another attribute that is relevant to the transaction but more difficult to observe. The agents' beliefs about group averages affect their treatment of an individual member of the group. This theory is typically attributed to Kenneth Arrow's 1973 work *The Theory of Discrimination* and to Edmund Phelps's 1972 paper *The Statistical Theory of Racism and Sexism*. In Phelps's theory, the cause of inequality is an exogenous difference in the two groups' innate qualities. Without full information about different workers' productivity, the "rational" employer would make hiring decisions based on their knowledge of the applicants' group as a whole. For example, employers may be reluctant to hire and train teenage workers because their past experience with teenagers is that they only want a short-term position (e.g., a summer job). Arrow's later theory followed a similar line of thought, but did not assume that a person's or a group's traits were determined exogenously. Instead, these traits are endogenous and develop through society's beliefs about a group.

Unlike animus-based discrimination, a statistically discriminating actor's actions are not due to any

direct prejudice or dislike for the disadvantaged group, but rather are meant to maximize the actor's profits. Though the actions are based on average characteristics of a group, these generalizations result in unequal outcomes for individuals who are identical except in their perceived group membership. An example is labor market discrimination against women, particularly married women, who may not be hired because they are statistically more likely to take time off to raise a family. Another example is racial profiling in law enforcement: minorities are more likely to be pulled over than white drivers.

### Institutional Discrimination

Institutional Discrimination is the adverse treatment of and impact on members of minority groups due to the explicit and implicit rules that regulate behavior (including rules set and enforced by firms, schools, government, markets, and society). Institutional discrimination occurs when the rules, practices, or “nonconscious understandings of appropriate conduct” (Haney Lopez) systematically advantage or disadvantage members of particular groups.

Institutional discrimination may result in equilibrium allocations that are unfair and inefficient. Government intervention may be necessary to address the imperfection.

### Examples

Last-hired-first-fired practices

Firms identifying job applicants through referrals from existing workers

An interviewer's ease of communication with people who are of the same race/gender/ethnicity/class

Licensing rules for beauty parlor operators and pin curls

Accessibility on college campuses

In the classroom, institutional discrimination can occur when an instructor

Uses slang or examples that are unknown to students from certain socioeconomic or cultural backgrounds

Holds office hours, or otherwise schedules significant learning opportunities, during times commonly used for work-study jobs or athletic practices

Writes exam questions that require students to have prior knowledge of a situation or phenomenon

Assumes the students most comfortable in speaking about economics with the instructor are those who have the best understanding of, or most interest in, the material.

Inequalities are embedded in the structure of the economy and in the structure of the classroom. The institutionalized inequalities tend to work against, rather than for, members of historically disadvantaged groups.

### Common Defenses of Institutional Discrimination

It can be helpful to look at the common arguments that are used to defend practices that contribute to institutional discrimination. A well-developed and empirically supported treatment of the ideologies involved is outside the realm of economics (see Bonillo-Silva 2006), but nevertheless a brief treatment can empower students and educators when engaged in discussion about discriminatory practices. The challenge here is that savage inequalities along lines of race and gender persist in the US despite that few Americans identify themselves as racists or misogynists. These inequalities are perpetuated in large part by racial indifference rather than racial hostility (The New Jim Crow), and the ideologies can be defended with arguments that seem reasonable and moral.

Eduardo Bonilla-Silva writes, "The frame of abstract liberalism involves using ideas associated with political liberalism (e.g., "equal opportunity," the idea that force should not be used to achieve social policy) and economic liberalism (e.g., choice, individualism) in an abstract manner to explain racial matters."

The principle of equal opportunity can be used to defend many of the practices listed above. For example, "last-hired-first-fired practices never make references to race, so how could it be discriminatory? If a white person is hired last, they will be treated the same as if they were black, and vice versa." This example and similar arguments rely on ignoring that the practice operates within a context of racial inequality. Given this context, the institutional discrimination serves to perpetuate and deepen injustice.

The principle of individualism is sometimes used as a justification for cases of institutional discrimination. For example, "a private business should have the right to screen candidates in whatever way it determines is most cost-effective, within reason. If using referrals from current hires is part of a recruitment strategy, then neither the government nor any other body has the authority to enforce a change in policy." Once again, this position does not take into account the context of

inequality in which the practice is used. It can be shown that in many cases, this sort of policy keeps out members of underrepresented communities.

While crude biological explanations of racial difference are rare, cultural racism continues to explain inequality. For example, "blacks and latinos are underrepresented in my microeconomics course because they are more interested in other subjects" or "latino men choose to spend more time on athletics over academic work because their culture overly values the former and inadequately celebrates the life of the mind." These views have clear roots in biological racism (blacks are still seen as lazy, but rather than explicitly mention race, contemporary whites reference "black culture.")

## INSTITUTIONAL DISCRIMINATION

Institutional discrimination is concerned with discrimination that has been incorporated into the structures, processes and procedures of organizations, either because of prejudice or because of failure to take into account the particular needs of different social identities.

Three features distinguish institutional discrimination from other random individual forms of bad treatment.

Triggered by social identity: the discrimination impacts on groups (or individuals because they are members of that group).

Systematic – it is built into laws, rules and regulations. For example, selection criteria for jobs or courses, laws such as the Minimum Wage, pension regularities, etc. It is reflected in organizational cultures. i.e. ‘the way we do things round here’, including the use of authority and discretion, e.g. how training opportunities are allocated, how flexibility in learning practices is authorized. It is reflected in ways of describing ‘normality’, e.g. long working hours, culture/expectations.

Institutional discrimination results in patterns: incidents of discrimination may appear isolated or random but where institutional discrimination occurs they are part of a wider pattern of events which often may be hidden. Patterns of discrimination can often be surfaced by effective organizational information relating to social identity. For example:

- which groups of people get promoted in an organization?
- which groups of people get accepted onto a training course?
- which groups of people leave an organization after six months of employment?

Questions such as this may point to some people experiencing the organization in a different/more negative way than others.

### **Thinking point**

How could discrimination be built into your own organization? Consider issues such as:

- timing of lectures or meetings
- allocation of work or development/training opportunities
- recruitment practices.



## WHAT IS EQUALITY AND DIVERSITY?

Although sometimes used interchangeably, the terms 'equality' and 'diversity' are not the same.

**Equality** is about 'creating a fairer society, where everyone can participate and has the opportunity to fulfill their potential' (DH, 2004). By eliminating prejudice and discrimination, the NHS can deliver services that are personal, fair and diverse and a society that is healthier and happier. For the NHS, this means making it more accountable to the patients it serves and tackling discrimination in the work place. (DoH 2011).

For example, occupational segregation. Women make up almost 75% of the NHS workforce but are concentrated in the lower-paid occupational areas: nursing, allied health professionals (AHPs), administrative workers and ancillary workers (DH, 2005). People from black and minority ethnic groups comprise 39.1% of hospital medical staff yet they comprise only 22.1% of all hospital medical consultants (DH, 2005).

In relation to patient care, research published in the British Medical Journal (2008) has shown that people aged 50 and over, but especially the old and frail, are not receiving basic standards of healthcare. Experts found shortfalls in the quality of care offered by the NHS and private providers to patients with conditions such as osteoarthritis, incontinence and osteoporosis. An equalities approach understands that who we are, based on social categories such as gender, race, disability, age, social class, sexuality and religion – will impact on our life experiences.

**Diversity** literally means difference. When it is used as a contrast or addition to equality, it is about recognizing individual as well as group differences, treating people as individuals, and placing positive value on diversity in the community and in the workforce.

Historically, employers and services have ignored certain differences such as background, personality and work style. However, individual and group diversity needs to be considered in order to ensure that everybody's needs and requirements are understood and responded to within employment practice and service design and delivery.

One way in which organizations have responded to the issue of diversity in recent years has been the development of flexibility in working practices and services. For example, an employer may allow an employee to work a flexible working pattern to accommodate child care arrangements, or a GP surgery may offer surgeries at the weekends to accommodate those who work full time during the week.

These approaches recognize that in order to provide accessible services and to ensure we promote inclusive working environments organizations may need to respond differently to both individuals and to groups. A holistic approach means making a commitment to equality through the recognition of diversity.

### *Why is equality and diversity important?*

Equality and diversity is becoming more important in all aspects of our lives and work for a number of reasons:

We live in an increasingly diverse society and need to be able to respond appropriately and sensitively to this diversity. Learners in the healthcare setting will reflect this diversity around gender, race and ethnicity, disability, religion, sexuality, class and age.

Your organization believes that successful implementation of equality and diversity in all aspects of work ensures that colleagues, staff and students are valued, motivated and treated fairly.

We have an equality and human rights legal framework covering employment practices and service delivery and the need to ensure we work within this and avoid discrimination.

### VALUING DIVERSITY

It is important that you consider how an individual's social identity may impact on their experience of the program/teaching session of clinical activity in which the learner is engaged.

The ways in which discrimination works include stereotyping, making assumptions, patronizing, humiliating and disrespecting people, taking some people less seriously.

To ensure that we value diversity and consider the individual's identity appropriately in clinical teaching, the following principles may be useful:

- recognize that we need to treat all learners as individuals and respond to them, and their social identity, in an individual manner
- understand that treating people fairly does not mean treating people in the same way – we need to recognize difference and respond appropriately
- respect all learners regardless of their protected characteristic or social situation
- try to increase our knowledge and understanding of aspects of social identity that may be different from our own

- avoid stereotyping or making assumptions about learners based on their social identity
- recognize that some course content may impact on some learners in a negative or difficult way because of an aspect of their social identity
- recognize that the course structure, e.g. timing of lectures, unsociable hours, weekend working, and so on, may impact on some learners more than others
- recognize that your own social identity may impact on learners in different ways
- avoid using inappropriate and disrespectful language relating to social identity or social situations

### **Thinking points**

- How could your own social identity or social situation impact on learners?
- How do you take your social identity into account in your work?
- How do you learn about learners' backgrounds and experiences?
- Would all your learners find you equally approachable?
- What do you think the reasons for this might be?

Equality and diversity are central to understanding in terms of both employment and service delivery.

This is an opportunity to consider your role in relation to equality and diversity and explore the key principles involved.

By now you should:

- be clear about the definition of equality and diversity
- understand how institutional discrimination works
- have considered issues of social identity in relation to the education system
- have explored relevant legal frameworks
- have considered how to challenge discrimination effectively

## **What Is a Stereotype?**

**Definition:** Stereotypes are characteristics ascribed to groups of people involving gender, race, national origin and other factors. These characteristics tend to be oversimplifications of the groups involved, however. For example, someone who meets a few individuals from a particular country and finds them to be quiet and reserved may spread the word that all citizens from the country in question are quiet and reserved. A generalization such as this doesn't allow for diversity within groups and may result in stigmatization and discrimination of groups if the stereotypes linked to them are largely negative. That said, even so-called positive stereotypes can be harmful due to their limiting nature. <http://racerelements.about.com/od/understandingrac1/g/WhatIsaStereotype.htm>

**Also Known As:** generalization, oversimplification

**Examples:** My father says that television shows such as "The Sopranos" fuel stereotypes about Italian Americans being involved in organized crime.

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Feisty. Seductive. Intelligent. Used to describe individuals, the preceding adjectives pose no particular problem. Used to describe groups of people, however, these same adjectives may constitute stereotypes. What is a stereotype? Stereotypes are qualities assigned to groups of people related to their race, nationality and sexual orientation, to name a few. Because they generalize groups of people in manners that lead to discrimination and ignore the diversity within groups, stereotypes should be avoided.

### **Stereotypes vs. Generalizations**

While all stereotypes are generalizations, not all generalizations are stereotypes. Stereotypes are oversimplifications of people groups widely circulated in certain societies. In the United States, for example, racial groups are linked to stereotypes such as being good at math, athletics, dancing and so forth. So well-known are these stereotypes in the U.S. that the average American likely wouldn't hesitate if asked to identify which racial group in this country is known for excelling in basketball. In short, when one stereotypes, one repeats the cultural mythology already present in a particular society.

On the other hand, a person can make a generalization about an ethnic group that hasn't been perpetuated in society. Say, for instance, a woman encounters individuals from a particular ethnic

group and finds them to be excellent parents. Based on her encounters with these folks, she may oversimplify and conclude that anyone from this ethnic group must be an excellent parent. In this instance, she would be guilty of generalizing, but an observer might think twice about calling her conclusion a stereotype since no group in the U.S. has the distinction of being known as excellent parents.

### Stereotypes Can Be Complicated

While stereotypes may refer to a specific sex, race, religion or country, often they link various aspects of identity together. A stereotype about black, gay men, for example, would involve race, sex and sexual orientation. Although such a stereotype targets a specific segment of African Americans rather than blacks generally, it's still problematic to insinuate that black, gay men are all a certain way. Too many other factors make up any one black, gay man's identity to ascribe a set list of characteristics to him.

Stereotypes are also complicated in that when they factor in race and sex, members of the same group may be pegged very differently. Certain stereotypes apply to Asian Americans generally, for example. But when the Asian American population is broken down by sex, one finds that stereotypes of Asian American men and Asian American women differ drastically from each other. Stereotypes involving race and gender may peg the women of a racial group as attractive and desirable and the men as the exact opposite or vice versa.

Even stereotypes applied to a racial group become inconsistent when members of that group are broken down by national origin. A case in point is that stereotypes about black Americans differ from those about blacks from the Caribbean or blacks from African nations. Such discrepancies indicate that stereotypes make little sense and aren't useful tools by which to judge others based on just a few aspects of their identity.

### Can Stereotypes Ever Be Good?

Both negative and positive stereotypes exist, but even the latter do harm. That's because all stereotypes are limiting and leave little to no room for individuality. Perhaps a child belongs to a racial group known for being highly intelligent. This particular child, however, suffers from a learning disability and struggles to keep up with his classmates in school. Because his teacher buys into the stereotype that this child is supposed to excel in class because "his people" are highly intelligent, she might assume that his poor marks are because he's lazy and never do the investigative work needed to discover his learning disability, saving him from years of struggle in school.

### Is There Truth in Stereotypes?

It's said that stereotypes are based in truth, but is this a valid statement? People who make this argument often want to justify their use of stereotypes. The problem with stereotypes is that they suggest that groups of people are inherently prone to certain behaviors. Arabs are naturally one way. Hispanics are naturally another. The fact is that science doesn't back up these kinds of assertions. If groups of people have historically excelled at certain activities, social factors no doubt contributed to this phenomenon. Perhaps a society barred a group of people from practicing certain professions but welcomed them in others. Over the years, the group became associated with the professions in which they were allowed to practice. This came about not because of any inherent talent in these fields but because they were the professions that allowed them to pay for food, housing and other necessities. In short, their survival depended on them excelling at the professions in question. Those who spread stereotypes, however, ignore social factors and make links between groups of people and certain skills, activities or behaviors where none inherently exist.

### Wrapping Up

The next time you're tempted to stereotype a group of people, think about the groups to which you belong. List the stereotypes linked to those groups. Does each of those stereotypes apply to you? More than likely you'd disagree that all of the qualities commonly attributed to those of your gender, racial group and sexual orientation describe you. That's why it's important to judge specific individuals rather than the groups of which they're part.

Stereotypes are generalizations about a group of people whereby we attribute a defined set of characteristics to this group. These classifications can be positive or negative, such as when various nationalities are stereotyped as friendly or unfriendly.

The purpose of stereotypes is to help us know how to interact with others. Each classification has associations, scripts and so on that we use to interpret what they are saying, decide if they are good or bad, and choose how to respond to them (or not).

It is easier to create stereotypes when there is a clearly visible and consistent attribute that can easily be recognized. This is why people of color, police and women are so easily stereotyped.

We often accept stereotypes from other people. This helps us agree on how to understand and act towards various groups of people in a consistent way.

People from stereotyped groups can find this very disturbing as they experience an apprehension (stereotype threat) of being treated unfairly.

We change our stereotypes infrequently. Even in the face of disconfirming evidence, we often cling to our obviously-wrong beliefs. When we do change the stereotypes, we do so in one of three ways:

Bookkeeping model: As we learn new contradictory information, we incrementally adjust the stereotype to adapt to the new information. We usually need quite a lot of repeated information for each incremental change. Individual evidence is taken as the exception that proves the rule.

Conversion model: We throw away the old stereotype and start again. This is often used when there is significant disconfirming evidence.

Subtyping model: We create a new stereotype that is a sub-classification of the existing stereotype, particularly when we can draw a boundary around the sub-class. Thus if we have a stereotype for Americans, a visit to New York may result in us having a 'New Yorkers are different' sub-type.

We often store stereotypes in two parts. First there is the generalized descriptions and attributes. To this we may add exemplars to prove the case, such as 'the policeman next door'. We may also store them hierarchically, such as 'black people', 'Africans', 'Ugandans', 'Ugandan military', etc., with each lower order inheriting the characteristics of the higher order, with additional characteristics added.

Stereotyping can go around in circles. Men stereotype women and women stereotype men. In certain societies this is intensified as the stereotyping of women pushes them together more and they create men as more of an out-group. The same thing happens with different racial groups, such as 'white/black' (an artificial system of opposites, which in origin seems to be more like 'European/non-European').

Stereotyping can be subconscious, where it subtly biases our decisions and actions, even in people who consciously do not want to be biased.

Stereotyping often happens not so much because of aggressive or unkind thoughts. It is more often a simplification to speed conversation on what is not considered to be an important topic.

### Example

Stereotyping goes way beyond race and gender. Consider conversations you have had about people from the next town, another department in your company, supporters of other football teams, and so on.

Find how others stereotype you (if possible, getting them to stereotype you positively). They will have a blind spot to non-stereotyped behaviors, so you can do these and they will often ignore it. Thus if you are stereotyped as a 'kind old man', you can do moderately unkind things which may be ignored.

### Defending

To change a person's view of your stereotype, be consistently different from it. Beware of your own stereotyping blinding you to the true nature of other individuals.

Stereotyping can be reduced by bringing people together. When they discover the other people are not as the stereotype, the immediate evidence creates dissonance that leads to improved thoughts about the other group.



## **Five Common Stereotypes About Africa**

In the 21st century, there's never been more focus on Africa than now. Thanks to the revolutions sweeping through North Africa and the Middle East, Africa has the world's attention. But just because all eyes happen to be on Africa at the moment doesn't mean myths about this part of the world have been dispelled. Despite the intense interest in Africa today, racial stereotypes about it persist. Do you have any misperceptions about Africa? This list of common myths about Africa aims to clear them up.

### **Africa Is a Country**

What's the No. 1 stereotype about Africa? Arguably, that Africa's not a continent, but a country. Ever hear someone refer to African food or African art or even the African language? Such individuals have no idea that Africa's the second largest continent in the world. Instead, they view it as a tiny country with no distinct traditions, cultures or ethnic groups. They fail to realize that referring to, say, African food sounds just as odd as referring to North American food or the North American language or the North American people.

Africa's home to 53 countries, including island-nations along the continent's coast. These countries contain diverse groups of people who speak a variety of languages and practice a wide range of customs. Take Nigeria--Africa's most populous country. Among the nation's population of 152 million, more than 250 distinct ethnic groups live. While English is the former British colony's official language, the dialects of ethnic groups indigenous to the West African nation, such as Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo, are commonly spoken as well. To boot, Nigerians practice Christianity, Islam and indigenous religions. So much for the myth that all Africans are alike. The most populated nation on the continent certainly proves otherwise.

### **All Africans Look the Same**

If you turn to popular culture for images of people on the African continent, you're likely to notice a pattern. Time and time again, Africans are depicted as if they're one and the same. You'll see Africans portrayed wearing face paint and animal print and all with nearly pitch black skin. The controversy surrounding singer Beyonce Knowles' decision to don black face for French magazine *L'Officiel* is a case in point. In a photo shoot for the magazine described as "a return to her African roots," Knowles darkened her skin to a deep brown, wore splotches of blue and beige paint on her cheekbones and leopard print clothing, not to mention a necklace made out of bone-like material.

The fashion spread sparked public outcry for a number of reasons. For one, Knowles portrays no particular African ethnic group in the spread, so which roots did she pay tribute to during the shoot? The generic African heritage *L'Officiel* claims Knowles honors in the spread really just amounts to racial stereotyping. Do some groups in Africa wear face paint? Sure, but not all do. And the leopard print clothing? That's not a look favored by indigenous African groups. It simply highlights that the Western world commonly views Africans as tribal and untamed. As for the skin-darkening—Africans, even sub-Saharan ones, have a range of skin tones, hair textures and other physical traits. This is why some people pegged *L'Officiel's* decision to darken Knowles' skin for the shoot unnecessary. After all, not every African is black-skinned. As Dodai Stewart of Jezebel.com put it:

“When you paint your face darker in order to look more ‘African,’ aren’t you reducing an entire continent, full of different nations, tribes, cultures and histories, into one brown color?”

### **Egypt Isn't Part of Africa**

Geographically, there's no question: Egypt sits squarely in Northeast Africa. Specifically, it borders Libya to the West, Sudan to the South, the Mediterranean Sea to the North, the Red Sea to the East and Israel and the Gaza Strip to the Northeast. Despite its location, Egypt is often not described as an African nation, but as Middle Eastern--the region where Europe, Africa and Asia meet. This omission stems mostly from the fact that Egypt's population of more than 80 million is heavily Arab--with up to 100,000 Nubians in the South--a drastic difference from the population of sub-Saharan Africa. Complicating matters is that Arabs tend to be classified as Caucasian.

### **Africa Is All Jungle**

Never mind that the Sahara Desert makes up one-third of Africa. Thanks to Tarzan films and other cinematic portrayals of Africa, many mistakenly believe that jungle occupies most of the continent and that ferocious beasts roam its entire landscape. Black activist Malcolm X, who visited several African countries before his assassination in 1965, took issue with this depiction. He not only discussed Western stereotypes of Africa but also how such stereotypes resulted in black Americans distancing themselves from the continent.

“They always project Africa in a negative light: jungle savages, cannibals, nothing civilized,” he pointed out.

In reality, Africa houses a wide range of vegetation zones. Only a small portion of the continent includes jungle, or rainforests. These tropical areas are located along the Guinea Coast and in the Zaire River Basin. Africa's largest vegetation zone is actually savanna, or tropical grassland. Moreover, Africa's home to urban centers with populations in the multimillions, including Cairo, Egypt; Lagos,

Nigeria; and Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of Congo. By 2025, more than half of the African population will reside in cities, according to some estimates.

### **Black American Slaves Came From All Over Africa**

Largely due to the misconception that Africa's a country, it's not uncommon for people to assume that black Americans have ancestors from all over the continent. In reality, the slaves traded throughout the Americas originated specifically along Africa's western coast.

For the first time, Portuguese sailors who'd previously traveled to Africa for gold returned to Europe with 10 African slaves in 1442, PBS reports. Four decades later, the Portuguese built a trading post on the Guinean shore called Elmina, or "the mine" in Portuguese. There, gold, ivory and other goods were traded along with African slaves—exported for weapons, mirrors and cloth, to name a few. Before long, Dutch and English ships began arriving at Elmina for African slaves as well. By 1619, Europeans had forced a million slaves into the Americas. Altogether, 10 to 12 million Africans were forced into servitude in the New World. These Africans were "either captured in warring raids or kidnapped and taken to the port by African slave traders," PBS notes.

Yes, West Africans played a key role in the transatlantic slave trade. For these Africans, slavery was nothing new, but African slavery in no way resembled North and South American slavery. In his book, the *African Slave Trade*, Basil Davidson likens slavery on the African continent to European serfdom. Take the Ashanti Kingdom of West Africa, where "slaves could marry, own property and even own slaves," PBS explains. Slaves in the United States enjoyed no such privileges. Moreover, while slavery in the U.S. was linked to skin color—with blacks as servants and whites as masters—racism was not the impetus for slavery in Africa. Plus, like indentured servants, slaves in Africa were typically released from bondage after a set amount of time. Accordingly, slavery in Africa never lasted across generations.

### **Wrapping Up**

Many myths about Africa date back centuries. In the modern day, new stereotypes about the continent have emerged. Thanks to a sensationalistic news media, people worldwide associate Africa with famine, war, AIDS, poverty and political corruption. This isn't to say that such problems don't exist in Africa. Of course, they do. But even in a nation as wealthy as the United States, hunger, abuse of power and chronic illness factor into everyday life. While the continent of Africa faces enormous challenges, not every African is in need, nor is every African nation in crisis.

## Multiracial People

When Barack Obama set his sights on the presidency, newspapers suddenly began devoting a lot more ink to the multiracial identity. Media outlets from *Time Magazine* and the *New York Times* to the British-based *Guardian* and BBC News pondered the significance of Obama's mixed heritage. His mother was a white Kansan and his father, a black Kenyan. Three years later it remains to be seen just what impact Obama's biracial makeup has had on race relations, but mixed-race people continue to make news headlines, thanks to the U.S. Census Bureau's finding that the country's multiracial population is exploding. But just because mixed-race people are in the spotlight doesn't mean that the myths about them have vanished. What are the most common misconceptions about multiracial identity? This list both names and dispels them.

### Multiracial People Are Novelty

What's the fastest-growing group of young people? According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the answer is multiracial youths. Today, the United States includes more than 4.2 million children identified as multiracial. That's a jump of nearly 50 percent since the 2000 census. And among the total U.S. population, the amount of people identifying as multiracial spiked by 32 percent, or 9 million. In the face of such groundbreaking statistics, it's easy to conclude that multiracial people are a new phenomenon now rapidly growing in rank. The truth is, however, that multiracial people have been a part of the country's fabric for centuries. Consider anthropologist Audrey Smedley's finding that the first child of mixed Afro-European ancestry was born in the U.S. eons ago—way back in 1620. There's also the fact that historical figures from Crispus Attucks to Jean-Baptiste Pointe DuSable to Frederick Douglass were all mixed-race.

A major reason why it appears that the multiracial population has soared is because for years and years, Americans weren't allowed to identify as more than one race on federal documents such as the census. Specifically, any American with a fraction of African ancestry was deemed black due to the "one-drop rule." This rule proved particularly beneficial to slave owners, who routinely fathered children with slave women. Their mixed-race offspring would be considered black, not white, which served to increase the highly profitable slave population.

The year 2000 marked the first time in ages that multiracial individuals could identify as such on the census. By that point in time, though, much of the multiracial population had grown accustomed to identifying as just one race. So, it's uncertain if the number of multiracials is actually soaring or if ten years after they were first permitted to identify as mixed-race, Americans are finally acknowledging their diverse ancestry.

### **Only Brainwashed Multiracials Identify as Black**

A year after President Obama identified himself as solely black on the 2010 census, he's still garnering criticism. Most recently, *Los Angeles Times* columnist Gregory Rodriguez wrote that when Obama marked only black on the census form, "he missed an opportunity to articulate a more nuanced racial vision for the increasingly diverse country he heads." Rodriguez added that historically Americans haven't publicly acknowledged their multiracial heritage due to social pressures, taboos against miscegenation and the one-drop rule.

But there's no evidence that Obama identified as he did on the census for any of those reasons. In his memoir, *Dreams From My Father*, Obama remarks that the mixed people he's encountered who insist on the multiracial label concern him because they often seem to make a concerted effort to distance themselves from other blacks. Other mixed-race people such as the author Danzy Senna or the artist Adrian Piper say that they choose to identify as black because of their political ideologies, which include standing in solidarity with the largely oppressed African-American community. Piper writes in her essay "Passing for White, Passing for Black":

"What joins me to other blacks...is not a set of shared physical characteristics, for there is none that all blacks share. Rather, it is the shared experience of being visually or cognitively identified as black by a white racist society, and the punitive and damaging effects of that identification."

## **Who is Black? One Nation Definition**

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### **One-Drop Rule Defined**

To be considered black in the United States not even half of one's ancestry must be African black. But will one-fourth do, or one-eighth, or less? The nation's answer to the question 'Who is black?' has long been that a black is any person with any known African black ancestry. This definition reflects the long experience with slavery and later with Jim Crow segregation. In the South it became known as the "one-drop rule," meaning that a single drop of "black blood" makes a person a black. It is also known as the "one black ancestor rule," some courts have called it the "traceable amount rule," and anthropologists call it the "hypo-descent rule," meaning that racially mixed persons are assigned the status of the subordinate group. This definition emerged from the American South to become the nation's definition, generally accepted by whites and blacks. Blacks had no other choice. As we shall see, this American cultural definition of blacks is taken for granted as readily by judges, affirmative action officers, and black protesters as it is by Ku Klux Klansmen.

Let us not be confused by terminology. At present the usual statement of the one-drop rule is in terms of "black blood" or black ancestry, while not so long ago it referred to "Negro blood" or ancestry. The term "black" rapidly replaced "Negro" in general usage in the United States as the black power movement peaked at the end of the 1960s, but the black and Negro populations are the same. The term "black" is used in this book for persons with any black African lineage, not just for unmixed members of populations from sub-Saharan Africa. The term "Negro," which is used in certain historical contexts, means the same thing. Terms such as "African black," "unmixed Negro," and "all black" are used here to refer to unmixed blacks descended from African populations.

We must also pay attention to the terms "mulatto" and "colored." The term "mulatto" was originally used to mean the offspring of a "pure African Negro" and a "pure white." Although the root meaning of mulatto, in Spanish, is "hybrid," "mulatto" came to include the children of unions between whites and so-called "mixed Negroes." For example, Booker T. Washington and Frederick Douglass, with slave mothers and white fathers, were referred to as mulattoes. To whatever extent their mothers were part white, these men were more than half white. Douglass was evidently part Indian as well, and he looked

it. Washington had reddish hair and gray eyes. At the time of the American Revolution, many of the founding fathers had some very light slaves, including some who appeared to be white. The term "colored" seemed for a time to refer only to mulattoes, especially lighter ones, but later it became a euphemism for darker Negroes, even including unmixed blacks. With widespread racial mixture, "Negro" came to mean any slave or descendant of a slave, no matter how much mixed. Eventually in the United States, the terms mulatto, colored, Negro, black, and African American all came to mean people with any known black African ancestry. Mulattoes are racially mixed, to whatever degree, while the terms black, Negro, African American, and colored include both mulattoes and unmixed blacks. As we shall see, these terms have quite different meanings in other countries.

Whites in the United States need some help envisioning the American black experience with ancestral fractions. At the beginning of miscegenation between two populations presumed to be racially pure, quadroons appear in the second generation of continuing mixing with whites, and octoroons in the third. A quadroon is one-fourth African black and thus easily classed as black in the United States, yet three of this person's four grandparents are white. An octoroon has seven white great-grandparents out of eight and usually looks white or almost so. Most parents of black American children in recent decades have themselves been racially mixed, but often the fractions get complicated because the earlier details of the mixing were obscured generations ago. Like so many white Americans, black people are forced to speculate about some of the fractions-- one-eighth this, three-sixteenths that, and so on....

### **Uniqueness Of the One-Drop rule**

Not only does the one-drop rule apply to no other group than American blacks, but apparently the rule is unique in that it is found only in the United States and not in any other nation in the world. In fact, definitions of who is black vary quite sharply from country to country, and for this reason people in other countries often express consternation about our definition. James Baldwin relates a revealing incident that occurred in 1956 at the Conference of Negro-African Writers and Artists held in Paris. The head of the delegation of writers and artists from the United States was John Davis. The French chairperson introduced Davis and then asked him why he considered himself Negro, since he certainly did not look like one. Baldwin wrote, "He is a Negro, of course, from the remarkable legal point of view which obtains in the United States, but more importantly, as he tried to make clear to his interlocutor, he was a Negro by choice and by depth of involvement--by experience, in fact."

The phenomenon known as "passing as white" is difficult to explain in other countries or to foreign students. Typical questions are: "Shouldn't Americans say that a person who is passing as white is white, or nearly all white, and has previously been passing as black?" or "To be consistent,

shouldn't you say that someone who is one-eighth white is passing as black?" or "Why is there so much concern, since the so-called blacks who pass take so little negroid ancestry with them?" Those who ask such questions need to realize that "passing" is much more a social phenomenon than a biological one, reflecting the nation's unique definition of what makes a person black. The concept of "passing" rests on the one-drop rule and on folk beliefs about race and miscegenation, not on biological or historical fact.

The black experience with passing as white in the United States contrasts with the experience of other ethnic minorities that have features that are clearly non-caucasoid. The concept of passing applies only to blacks--consistent with the nation's unique definition of the group. A person who is one-fourth or less American Indian or Korean or Filipino is not regarded as passing if he or she intermarries and joins fully the life of the dominant community, so the minority ancestry need not be hidden. It is often suggested that the key reason for this is that the physical differences between these other groups and whites are less pronounced than the physical differences between African blacks and whites, and therefore are less threatening to whites. However, keep in mind that the one-drop rule and anxiety about passing originated during slavery and later received powerful reinforcement under the Jim Crow system.

For the physically visible groups other than blacks, miscegenation promotes assimilation, despite barriers of prejudice and discrimination during two or more generations of racial mixing. As noted above, when ancestry in one of these racial minority groups does not exceed one-fourth, a person is not defined solely as a member of that group. Masses of white European immigrants have climbed the class ladder not only through education but also with the help of close personal relationships in the dominant community, intermarriage, and ultimately full cultural and social assimilation. Young people tend to marry people they meet in the same informal social circles. For visibly non-caucasoid minorities other than blacks in the United States, this entire route to full assimilation is slow but possible.

For all persons of any known black lineage, however, assimilation is blocked and is not promoted by miscegenation. Barriers to full opportunity and participation for blacks are still formidable, and a fractionally black person cannot escape these obstacles without passing as white and cutting off all ties to the black family and community. The pain of this separation, and condemnation by the black family and community, are major reasons why many or most of those who could pass as white choose not to. Loss of security within the minority community, and fear and distrust of the white world are also factors.

It should now be apparent that the definition of a black person as one with any trace at all of black African ancestry is inextricably woven into the history of the United States. It incorporates beliefs once



used to justify slavery and later used to buttress the castelike Jim Crow system of segregation. Developed in the South, the definition of "Negro" (now black) spread and became the nation's social and legal definition. Because blacks are defined according to the one-drop rule, they are a socially constructed category in which there is wide variation in racial traits and therefore not a race group in the scientific sense. However, because that category has a definite status position in the society it has become a self-conscious social group with an ethnic identity.

The one-drop rule has long been taken for granted throughout the United States by whites and blacks alike, and the federal courts have taken "judicial notice" of it as being a matter of common knowledge. State courts have generally upheld the one-drop rule, but some have limited the definition to one thirty-second or one-sixteenth or one-eighth black ancestry, or made other limited exceptions for persons with both Indian and black ancestry. Most Americans seem unaware that this definition of blacks is extremely unusual in other countries, perhaps even unique to the United States, and that Americans define no other minority group in a similar way. . . .

We must first distinguish racial traits from cultural traits, since they are so often confused with each other. As defined in physical anthropology and biology, races are categories of human beings based on average differences in physical traits that are transmitted by the genes not by blood. Culture is a shared pattern of behavior and beliefs that are learned and transmitted through social communication. An ethnic group is a group with a sense of cultural identity, such as Czech or Jewish Americans, but it may also be a racially distinctive group. A group that is racially distinctive in society may be an ethnic group as well, but not necessarily. Although racially mixed, most blacks in the United States are physically distinguishable from whites, but they are also an ethnic group because of the distinctive culture they have developed within the general American framework.

## **The Class Structure in the United States of America**

*American society is stratified into social classes based on wealth, income, educational attainment, occupation, and social networks.*

### **LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

Understand America's class structure

Discuss the concept of the "American Dream" in terms of social class

### **KEY POINTS**

There are competing models for thinking about social classes in the U.S. — most Americans recognize a three-tier structure that includes the upper, middle, and lower classes, but variations delineate an upper-middle class and a working class.

High income earners likely are substantially educated, have high-status occupations, and maintain powerful social networks.

According to the "American Dream," American society is meritocratic and class is achievement-based. In other words, one's membership in a particular social class is based on educational and career accomplishments.

### **TERMS**

#### The American Dream

The belief that with hard work, courage, and determination, anyone can prosper and achieve success.

#### Social Network

The web of a person's social, family, and business contacts, who provide material and social resources and opportunities.

### Corporate Elite

A class of high-salaried stockholders, such as corporate CEOs, who do not necessarily have inherited privilege but have achieved high status through their careers.

### **EXAMPLES**

An example of someone who achieves the American Dream might be a person who is born to poor parents but is smart and hardworking and eventually goes on to receive scholarships for a college education and to become a successful businessperson. Modern sociologists argue that in the vast majority of cases, people do not achieve the American Dream — instead, people born to poor parents are likely to stay within the lower class, and vice versa.

An example of someone who achieves the American Dream is a person who is born to poor parents but is smart and hardworking, who eventually goes on to receive scholarships for a college education and to become a successful businessperson. Modern sociologists argue that in the vast majority of cases, people do not achieve the American Dream — instead, people born to poor parents are likely to stay within the lower class, and vice versa.

Most social scientists in the U.S. agree that society is stratified into social classes. Social classes are hierarchical groupings of individuals that are usually based on wealth, educational attainment, occupation, income, or membership in a subculture or social network. Social class in the United States is a controversial issue, having many competing definitions, models, and even disagreements over its very existence. Many Americans recognize a simple three-tier model that includes the upper class, the middle class, and the lower or working class. Some social scientists have proposed more complex models that may include as many as a dozen class levels. Meanwhile, some scholars deny the very existence of discrete social classes in American society. In spite of debate, most social scientists do agree that in the U.S. people are hierarchically ranked in a social class structure.

### ***Models of U.S. Social Classes***

A team of sociologists recently posited that there are six social classes in America. In this model, the upper class (3% of the population) is divided into upper-upper class (1% of the U.S. population, earning hundreds of millions to billions per year) and the lower-upper class (2%, earning millions per year). The middle class (40%) is divided into upper-middle class (14%, earning \$76,000 or more per

year) and the lower-middle class (26%, earning \$46,000 to \$75,000 per year). The working class (30%) earns \$19,000 to \$45,000 per year. The lower class (27%) is divided into working poor (13%, earning \$9,000 to 18,000 per year) and underclass (14%, earning under \$9,000 per year). This model has gained traction as a tool for thinking about social classes in America, but it does not fully account for variations in status based on non-economic factors, such as education and occupational prestige. This critique is somewhat mitigated by the fact that income is often closely aligned with other indicators of status; for example, those with high incomes likely have substantial education, high status occupations, and powerful social networks.

A commonly used model for thinking about social classes in the U.S. attributes the following general characteristics to each tier: the upper class has vast accumulated wealth and significant control over corporations and political institutions, and their privilege is usually inherited; the corporate elite consists of high-salaried stockholders, such as corporate CEOs, who did not necessarily inherit privilege but have achieved high status through their careers; the upper-middle class consists of highly educated salaried professionals whose occupations are held in high esteem, such as lawyers, engineers, and professors; the middle class (the most vaguely defined and largest social class) is generally thought to include people in mid-level managerial positions or relatively low status professional positions, such as high school teachers and small business owners; the working class generally refers to those without college degrees who do low level service work, such as working as a sales clerk or housekeeper, and includes most people whose incomes fall below the poverty line. In the above outline of social class, status clearly depends not only on income, but also occupational prestige and educational attainment.

### ***Debates over the Existence and Significance of U.S. Social Classes***

According to the "American Dream," American society is meritocratic and class is achievement-based. In other words, membership in a particular social class is based on educational and career accomplishments. Many sociologists dispute the existence of such class mobility and point to the ways in which social class is inherited. For example, a son or daughter of a wealthy individual may carry a higher status and different cultural connotations than a member of the nouveau riche ("new money"). Likewise, being born into a particular social class may confer advantages or disadvantages that increase the likelihood that an adult will remain in the social class into which they were born.

Social theorists who dispute the existence of social classes in the U.S. tend to argue that society is stratified along a continuous gradation, rather than into delineated categories. In other words, there is inequality in America, with some people attaining higher status and higher standards of living than

others. But there is no clear place to draw a line separating one status group from the next. Whether one ascribes to the view that classes are discrete groups or levels along a continuum, it is important to remember that all social classes in the United States, except the upper class, consist of tens of millions of people. Thus social classes form social groups so large that they feature considerable internal diversity and any statement regarding a given social class' culture should be seen as a broad generalization.

## INCOME

Individual and household income remains one of the most prominent indicators of class status within the United States.

### LEARNING OBJECTIVE

Discuss the relationship between income and class status

### KEY POINTS

Personal income is an individual's total earnings from wages, investment earnings, and other sources, and the mostly widely cited data on personal income comes from the U.S. Census Bureau's population surveys.

Though individuals in a household may hold low prestige or low earning jobs, having multiple incomes can allow for upward class mobility as a household's wealth increases.

According to the U.S. Census, men tend to have higher income than women, while Asians and whites earned more than African Americans and Hispanics.

### TERMS

#### Personal Income

All of an individual's monetary earnings, including salary, investment gains, inheritance, and any other gains.

#### Bureau of Economic Analysis

The Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA) is an agency in the United States Department of Commerce that measures important economic statistics, including the gross domestic product of the United States.

#### Income

Money one earns by working, or by capitalizing off other people's work

#### U.S. Census Bureau

The government agency that is responsible for the United States Census, which gathers national demographic and economic data.

## EXAMPLES

U.S. Census Bureau data on household incomes is used to inform welfare policy, as benefits are distributed based on expectations about what income is needed to access basic resources like food and healthcare.

Salary alone only measures the income from a person's occupation, while total personal income accounts for investments, inheritance, real estate gains, and other sources of wealth. Many people who have vast accumulated wealth have virtually non-existent salaries, so total personal income is a better indicator of economic status.

On an individual basis, a person would need to have a high status, high paying occupation to belong to the upper middle class -- occupations that would likely be categorized within the group include those of physician or university professor. However, in a dual-income household the combined income of both earners, even if they hold relatively low status jobs, can put the household in the upper middle class income bracket.

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Income in the United States is most commonly measured by U.S. Census Bureau in terms of either household or individual income and remains one of the most prominent indicators of class status. Income is not one of its causes. In other words, income does not determine the status of an individual or household but rather reflects that status. Some say that income and prestige are the incentives provided by society in order to fill needed positions with the most qualified and motivated personnel possible.

Personal income is an individual's total earnings from wages, investment interest, and other sources. In the United States, the most widely cited personal income statistics are the Bureau of Economic Analysis's personal income and the Census Bureau's per capita money income. The Census Bureau also produces alternative estimates of income and poverty based on broadened definitions of income that include many components that are not included in money income. Estimates are available by demographic characteristics of householders and by the composition of households. According to the US Census, men tend to have higher income than women, while Asians and whites earned more than African Americans and Hispanics.

The combination of two or more incomes allows for households to increase their income substantially without moving higher on the occupational ladder or attaining higher educational degrees. Thus, it is important to remember that the favorable economic position of households in the top two quintiles is in some cases, the result of combined income, rather than the high status of a single worker.



## *WEALTH*

Wealth is commonly measured in terms of net worth, which is the sum of all assets, including home equity, minus all liabilities.

### LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Define "wealth" and explain how it differs from "income"

Give examples for the distribution of wealth in the United States

### KEY POINTS

The wealth—more specifically, the median net worth—of households in the United States varies with relation to race, education, geographic location, and gender.

While income is often seen as a type of wealth in colloquial language use, wealth and income are different measures of economic prosperity.

Assets are known as the raw materials of wealth, and they consist primarily of stocks and other financial and non-financial property, particularly homeownership, that allows individuals to increase their wealth.

Home ownership is one of the main sources of wealth among families in the United States, but can be inaccessible to low income households due to high interest rates.

### TERMS

#### Assets

Any property or object of value that one possesses, usually considered as applicable to the payment of one's debts.

#### net worth

The total assets minus total liabilities of an individual or a company.

#### interest rate

The percentage of an amount of money charged for its use per some period of time (often a year).

## EXAMPLES

Many wealthy individuals, particularly those with inherited wealth or substantial stock or real estate holdings, actually have low incomes.

One way that many wealthy individuals increase their wealth is by investing in the stock market. To invest, individuals need to have sufficient assets to buy stock shares.

When a person decides to buy a house, they take out a mortgage from the bank at an interest rate that may or may not be fixed to stay the same over time. When they can no longer pay back the loan at the agreed upon interest rate, their home is foreclosed and the bank that gave them the mortgage takes ownership of it. Many low to middle-income Americans have had their homes foreclosed upon during the recent recession.

Wealth in the United States is commonly measured in terms of net worth, which is the sum of all assets, including home equity, minus all liabilities. The wealth—more specifically, the median net worth—of households in the United States varies with relation to race, education, geographic location, and gender. While income is often seen as a type of wealth in colloquial language use, wealth and income are two substantially different measures of economic prosperity. While there may be a high correlation between income and wealth, the relationship cannot be described as causal.

Assets are known as the raw materials of wealth, and they consist primarily of stocks and other financial and non-financial property, particularly home ownership, that allows individuals to increase their wealth. Home ownership is one of the main sources of wealth among families in the United States. However, there are racial differences in the acquisition of housing, and this inequality reproduces stratification in wealth across race. For white families, home ownership is worth, on average, \$60,000 more than it is worth for black families. A lower proportion of people of color than white people have access to the financial resources needed to purchase a home with the intention of letting its value appreciate over time to increase personal wealth. In many communities with large minority populations, high interest rates can cause roadblocks to home ownership.

Data on personal wealth in the United States shows that the inequality between the nation's richest and poorest citizens is vast. For example, just 400 Americans have the same wealth as half of all Americans combined. In 2007 more than 37 million U.S. citizens, or 12.5% of the population, were classified as poor by the Census Bureau. In 2007 the richest 1% of the American population owned 34.6% of the country's total wealth, and the next 19% owned 50.5%. Thus, the top 20% of Americans owned 85% of the country's wealth and the bottom 80% of the population owned 15%.

## *EDUCATION*

In the U.S., educational attainment is strongly correlated to income and occupation, and therefore to social class.

### LEARNING OBJECTIVE

Describe how higher educational attainment relates to social class

### KEY POINTS

American society values post-secondary education very highly; it is one of the main determinants of social class, along with income, wealth, and occupation.

Tertiary education (or "higher education") is required for many middle and upper class professions.

Educational attainment is strongly related to income in the United States.

### TERMS

#### Scholarship

Monetary aid given to a student to assist them in paying for an education.

#### Low-interest loans

Money lent with only a small percentage of interest accruing as a charge, often made available to students.

#### Tertiary Education

Higher education, including college education and vocational programs beyond high school.

## EXAMPLES

In many cases, young university professors earn the same salary as young elementary or high school teachers. Still, professors are generally thought to be upper-middle class, while teachers are usually considered middle class. This disparity can be attributed to the greater educational attainment of professors, who hold doctorate degrees.

Common middle and upper class professions include those of lawyer, doctor, and CEO. To be a lawyer, one must have a law degree (JD); to be a doctor, one must have a medical degree (MD); to be a CEO, one usually has a business degree (MBA). Thus, education beyond college is required for many middle to upper class professions.

Among people with professional degrees (such as a law or medical degree), the median household income is \$100,000. For high school graduates, the median household income is \$36,835. The more well educated a person is, the more highly skilled labor they tend to do, the more income they tend to earn.

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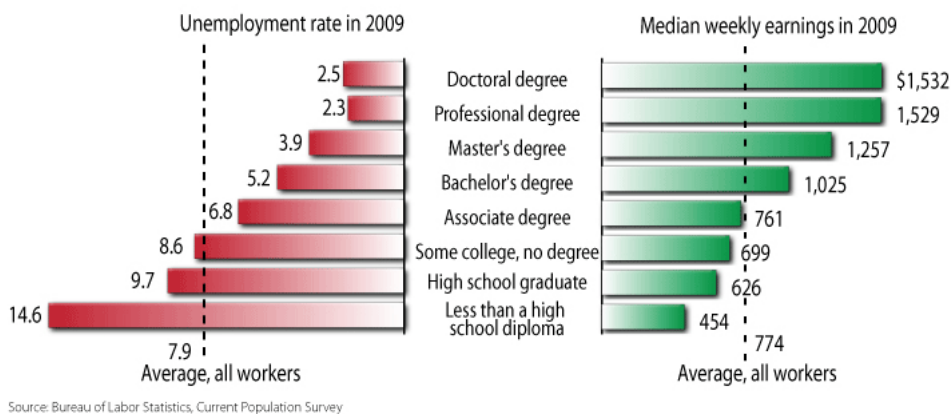
The educational attainment of the U.S. population parallels that of many other industrialized countries, with the vast majority of the population having completed secondary education and a rising number of college graduates outnumbering high school dropouts. As a whole, the U.S. population is spending more years in formal educational programs. American society highly values post-secondary education, or education beyond high school; it is one of the main determinants of class and status in the U.S. In fact, the attainment of post-secondary and graduate degrees is often considered the most important feature distinguishing middle and upper middle class people from lower or working class people. In this regard, universities can be regarded as the gatekeepers of the professional middle class.

Many middle-class professions require post-secondary degrees, which are classified as tertiary education (or "higher education"). Tertiary education is rarely free, but the costs do vary widely; tuition at elite private colleges often exceeds \$200,000 for a four-year program while public colleges and universities typically charge much less (for state residents). Many public institutions, such as the University of California system, rival elite private schools in reputation and quality. Many colleges and universities offer scholarships to make higher education more affordable. Government and private lenders also offer low-interest loans. Still, by all accounts, the average cost of education is increasing.

In the U.S., income is strongly related to educational attainment. In 2005, the majority of people with doctorate and professional degrees were counted among the nation's top 15% of income earners. The income of people with bachelor's degrees was above the national median, while the median income of people with some college education remained near the national median. According to U.S. Census Bureau, 9% of persons aged 25 or older had a graduate degree, 27.9% had a bachelor's degree or more, and 53% had attended at least some college. According to the same census, 85% of the U.S. population had graduated from high school. These numbers indicate that the average American does not have a college degree or higher. Having a degree is strongly linked to occupation, and therefore income; degree holders work in more highly skilled professions and earn more on average. Thus, having a bachelor's or graduate degree is a strong indicator of social class.

Income and educational levels differ by race, age, household configuration, and geography. Although the incomes of both men and women are associated with higher educational attainment (higher incomes for higher educational attainment), there remains an income gap between races and genders at each educational level.

## Education pays



### Education Pays

This graphic, released by the US Department of Labor, shows the correlation between higher education, employment status, and income. The more education a person attains, the more likely they are to be employed in high paying occupations.

## OCCUPATION

In the United States, occupation and occupational prestige are primary indicators of social class, along with income, wealth, and education.

### LEARNING OBJECTIVE

Explain how occupation may affect a person's social class

### KEY POINTS

High status professional occupations, such as those of a doctor, lawyer, or CEO, require high educational attainment and are associated with the upper-middle and upper classes.

Occupation often corresponds with income and educational attainment, which combined determine a person's social class. However, occupations with high occupational prestige can increase one's social class without a corresponding increase in indicators, such as income.

To enter the professions, a person usually must hold a professional degree. Examples of professional degrees include JDs for law, MDs for medicine, and MBAs for business.

### TERMS

#### Educational attainment

Educational attainment is a term commonly used by statisticians to refer to the highest degree of education an individual has completed.

#### Occupational prestige

The rating of a job based on the social esteem or respect granted to an occupation.

#### Profession

An occupation, trade, craft, or activity in which one has a professed expertise in a particular area, especially one requiring a high level of skill or training.

### EXAMPLES

Occupations that are frequently held by members of the upper class tend to be well-compensated and require higher education: lawyers frequently make six-figure salaries and must hold JDs, for example. Sometimes, however, the prestige of an occupation overrides income in determining someone's class membership: professors are often considered upper class though they often have relatively low incomes, while funeral directors are often considered middle class though they have relatively high incomes.

The upper-middle class is sometimes referred to as the "professional class," pointing to the dominance of highly compensated, highly educated professionals in this social tier.

Occupations that are frequently held by members of the upper class tend to be well-compensated and require higher education: lawyers frequently make six-figure salaries and must hold JDs, for example. Sometimes, however, the prestige of an occupation overrides income in determining someone's class membership: professors are often considered upper class though they often have relatively low incomes, while funeral directors are often considered middle class though they have relatively high incomes.

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In the United States, occupation is a primary indicator of social class, along with income, wealth, and education. Occupation is closely linked to Americans' identities, and is a salient marker of status. The importance of occupation in part results from the substantial amount of time that Americans devote to their careers. The average work week in the United States for those employed full time is 42.9 hours long, and 30% of the population works more than 40 hours per week.

High educational attainment is generally a pre-requisite for entering high status professional occupations. Professional occupations, sometimes called "the professions" or "white collar jobs," include highly skilled positions, such as that of a lawyer, physician, and CEO. Having a professional occupation is associated with being a member of the upper-middle or upper class. To enter the professions, a person usually must hold a professional degree. Examples of professional degrees include JDs for law, MDs for medicine, and MBAs for business. Because the professions are considered highly skilled, require high educational attainment, and provide high incomes, they are associated with high social status.

Sociologists often talk about the status associated with various occupations in terms of occupational prestige. Occupational prestige refers to the esteem in which society holds a particular occupation. Occupational prestige is one way in which occupation may affect a person's social class independent of income and educational attainment. While high status occupations often reap high incomes and

require significant education, in some cases these three variables are not linked. For example, being a university professor has high status and requires high educational attainment, but does not always result in high income. Its status depends upon the high esteem in which professors are held. In large part because of high occupational prestige, university professors are generally considered members of the upper-middle class. Conversely, funeral directors generally have high incomes and often high educational attainment. Being a funeral director is not a high status job, however, because Americans do not tend to hold the occupation in high esteem it has low occupational prestige. Funeral directors are, therefore, often considered members of the middle class. As illustrated by this example, occupations with high prestige can raise one's social class even without improving one's economic status.



## **The Upper Class**

The American upper class is the highest socioeconomic bracket in the social hierarchy and is defined by its members' great wealth and power.

### **LEARNING OBJECTIVE**

Discuss the most important characteristics of the upper class in the U.S.

### **KEY POINTS**

Members of the upper class accumulate wealth through investments and capital gains, rather than through annual salaries.

Households with net worths of \$1 million or more may be identified as members of the upper-most socio-economic demographic, depending on the class model used.

Sociologist Leonard Beeghley asserts that all households with a net worth of \$1 million or more are considered "rich". He divides the rich into two sub-groups: the rich and the super-rich.

### **TERMS**

#### capital gain

An increase in the value of a capital asset, such as stock or real estate.

#### investment

The expenditure of capital in expectation of deriving income or profit from its use.

### **EXAMPLES**

The top .01% of the population, with an annual income of \$9.5 million or more, received 5% of the income of the United States in 2007. These 15,000 families have been characterized as the "richest of the rich. "

The American upper class refers to the "top layer," or highest socioeconomic bracket, of society in the United States. This social class is most commonly described as those with great wealth and power, and may also be referred to as the capitalist class, or simply as "the rich. " People in this class commonly have immense influence in the nation's political and economic institutions as well as in the media.

Many politicians, heirs to fortunes, top business executives such as CEOs, successful venture capitalists, and celebrities are considered members of the upper class. Some prominent and high-rung professionals may also be included if they attain great influence and wealth. The main distinguishing feature of this class is their source of income. While the vast majority of people and households derive their income from salaries, those in the upper class derive their income primarily from investments and capital gains.

Households with a net worth of \$1 million or more may be identified as members of the upper-most socioeconomic demographic, depending on the class model used. While most contemporary sociologists estimate that only 1% of households are members of the upper class, sociologist Leonard Beeghley asserts that all households with a net worth of \$1 million or more are considered "rich. " He divides the rich into two sub-groups: the rich and the super-rich. The rich constitute roughly 5% of U.S. households and their wealth is largely in the form of home equity. Other contemporary sociologists, such as Dennis Gilbert, argue that this group is not part of the upper class but rather part of the upper middle class, as its standard of living is largely derived from occupation-generated income and its affluence falls far short of that attained by the top percentile. The super-rich, according to Beeghley, are those able to live off their wealth without depending on occupation-derived income. This demographic constitutes roughly 0.9% of American households. Beeghley's definition of the super-rich is congruent with the definition of upper class employed by most other sociologists. The top .01% of the population, with an annual income of \$9.5 million or more, received 5% of the income of the United States in 2007. These 15,000 families have been characterized as the "richest of the rich. "

## **The Upper-Middle Class**

The upper-middle class refers to people within the middle class that have high educational attainment, high salaries, and high status jobs.

### **LEARNING OBJECTIVE**

Identify the central characteristics of the upper-middle class in the U.S.

### **KEY POINTS**

Members of the upper-middle class have substantially less wealth and prestige than the upper class, but a higher standard of living than the lower-middle class or working class.

The U.S. upper-middle class consists mostly of white-collar professionals who have a high degree of autonomy in their work. The most common professions of the upper-middle class tend to center on conceptualizing, consulting, and instruction.

In addition to having autonomy in their work, above-average incomes, and advanced educations, the upper middle class also tends to be powerful; members are influential in setting trends and shaping public opinion.

### **TERMS**

#### **Educational attainment**

Educational attainment is a term commonly used by statisticians to refer to the highest degree of education an individual has completed.

#### **Salaried professionals**

White-collar employees whose work is largely self-directed and is compensated with an annual salary, rather than an hourly wage.

## EXAMPLES

Doctors, lawyers, professors, and engineers are all examples of members of the upper middle class. Their professions require high educational status, are well-compensated, and are held in high esteem.

Sociologists use the term "upper-middle class" to refer to the social group consisting of higher-status members of the middle class. This is in contrast to the term "lower-middle class," which is used for the group at the opposite end of the middle class stratum, and to the broader term "middle class." There is considerable debate as to how to define the upper-middle class. According to the rubric laid out by sociologist Max Weber, the upper-middle class consists of well-educated professionals with graduate degrees and comfortable incomes.

In 1951, sociologist C. Wright Mills conducted one of first major studies of the middle class in America. According to his definition, the middle class consists of an upper-middle class, made up of professionals distinguished by exceptionally high educational attainment and high economic security; and a lower-middle class, consisting of semi-professionals. While the groups overlap, differences between those at the center of both groups are considerable.

Among modern sociologists, the American upper-middle class is defined using income, education, and occupation as primary indicators. There is some debate over what exactly the term "upper-middle class" means, but in academic models, the term generally applies to highly educated, salaried professionals whose work is largely self-directed. The U.S. upper-middle class consists mostly of white-collar professionals who have a high degree of autonomy in their work. The most common professions of the upper-middle class tend to center on conceptualizing, consulting, and instruction. They include such occupations as lawyer, physician, dentist, engineer, professor, architect, civil service executive, and civilian contractor. Many members of the upper-middle class have graduate degrees, such as law, business, or medical degrees, which are often required for professional occupations. Educational attainment is a distinguishing feature of the upper-middle class. Additionally, household incomes in the upper-middle class commonly exceed \$100,000, with some smaller one-income earners earning incomes in the high 5-figure range.

In addition to autonomy in their work, above-average incomes, and advanced educations, the upper middle class also tends to be powerful; members are influential in setting trends and shaping public opinion. Moreover, members of the upper-middle class are generally more economically secure than their lower-middle class counterparts. Holding advanced degrees and high status in corporations and institutions tends to insulate the upper-middle class from economic downturns. Members of this class are likely to be in the top income quintile, or the top 20% of the economic hierarchy.

## **The Lower-Middle Class**

The lower-middle class are those with some education and comfortable salaries, but with socioeconomic statuses below the upper-middle class.

### **LEARNING OBJECTIVE**

Discuss the differences between the lower and upper-middle class

### **KEY POINTS**

The lower-middle class, also sometimes simply referred to as "middle class," includes roughly one third of U.S. households, and is thought to be growing.

Individuals in the lower-middle class tend to hold low status professional or white collar jobs, such as school teacher, nurse, or paralegal.

The lower-middle class is among the largest social classes, rivaled only by the working class, and it is thought to be growing.

### **TERMS**

#### **College Education**

Education beyond secondary school, usually culminating in a bachelor's degree and serving as a necessary credential for middle class occupations.

#### **White Collar**

Describes a person who performs professional, managerial, or administrative work for a salary.

#### **Professional**

A person whose occupation is highly skilled, salaried, and requires high educational attainment.

## EXAMPLES

Primary school teachers are examples of members of the lower-middle class. They usually hold college degrees, but often have no graduate degree; they make comfortable incomes, but have low accumulated wealth; their work is largely self-directed, but is not high status.

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In developed nations across the world, the lower-middle class is a sub-division of the middle class that refers to households and individuals who are somewhat educated and usually stably employed, but who have not attained the education, occupational prestige, or income of the upper-middle class.

In American society, the middle class is often divided into the lower-middle class and upper-middle class. The lower-middle class (also sometimes simply referred to as the middle class) consists of roughly one third of households—it is roughly twice as large as the upper-middle and upper classes. Lower-middle class individuals commonly have some college education or a bachelor's degree and earn a comfortable living. The lower-middle class is among the largest social classes, rivaled only by the working class, and it is thought to be growing.

Individuals in the lower-middle class tend to hold low status professional or white collar jobs, such as school teacher, nurse, or paralegal. These types of occupations usually require some education but generally do not require a graduate degree. Lower-middle class occupations usually provide comfortable salaries, but put individuals beneath the top third of incomes.

Primary school teachers are generally considered lower-middle class. In many states they usually hold college degrees, but often do not hold graduate degrees; they make comfortable incomes, but have low accumulated wealth; their work is largely self-directed, but is not high status.

According to some class models the lower middle class is located roughly between the 52<sup>nd</sup> and 84<sup>th</sup> percentile of society. In terms of personal income distribution in 2005, that would mean gross annual personal incomes from about \$32,500 to \$60,000. Since 42% of all households had two income earners, with the majority of those in the top 40% of gross income, household income figures would be significantly higher, ranging from roughly \$50,000 to \$100,000 annually. In terms of educational attainment, 27% of persons had a bachelor's degree or higher. If the upper middle and upper class combined are to constitute 16% of the population, it becomes clear that some of those in the lower middle class boast college degrees or some college education.

## **The Working Class**

The working class consists of individuals and households with low educational attainment, low status occupations, and below average incomes.

### **LEARNING OBJECTIVE**

Explain how differences in class culture may affect working-class students who enter the post-secondary education system

Members of the working class usually have a high school diploma or some college education, and may work in low-skilled occupations like retail sales or manual labor.

Due to differences between middle and working-class cultures, working-class college students may face "culture shock" upon entering the post-secondary education system, with its "middle class" culture.

Working classes are mainly found in industrialized economies and in the urban areas of non-industrialized economies.

### **TERMS**

#### **Working Class**

The social class of those who perform physical or low-skilled work for a living, as opposed to the professional or middle class, the upper class, or the upper middle class.

#### **Manual Labor**

Any work done by hand; usually implying it is unskilled or physically demanding.

#### **Blue Collar**

Describes working-class occupations, especially those involving manual labor.

Secretaries, farmers, and hair stylists may all be considered members of the working class. Their occupations may require vocational training but generally do not require a college degree, and they likely earn an income above minimum wage but below the national average.

Working class is a term used in the social sciences and in ordinary conversation to describe those employed in lower tier jobs (as measured by skill, education, and income), often extending to those who are unemployed or otherwise earning below-average incomes. Working classes are mainly found in industrialized economies and in the urban areas of non-industrialized economies.

In the United States, the parameters of the working class remain vaguely defined and are contentious. Since many members of the working class, as defined by academic models, are often identified in the vernacular as being middle class, there is considerable ambiguity over the term's meaning. In the class models devised by sociologists, the working class comprises between 30 percent and 35 percent of the population, roughly the same percentage as the lower middle class. Those in the working class are commonly employed in low-skilled occupations, including clerical and retail positions and blue collar or manual labor occupations. Low-level, white-collar employees are sometimes included in this class, such as secretaries and call center employees.

Education, for example, can pose an especially intransigent barrier in the United States. Members of the working class commonly have only a high school diploma, although some may have minimal college courses to their credit as well. Due to differences between middle and working-class cultures, working-class college students may face "culture shock" upon entering the post-secondary education system, with its "middle class" culture. Research showing that working-class students are taught to value obedience over leadership and creativity can partially account for the difficulties that many working-class individuals face upon entering colleges and universities.



## **The Lower Class**

The lower class consists of those at the bottom of the socioeconomic hierarchy who have low education, low income, and low status jobs.

### **LEARNING OBJECTIVE**

Differentiate between the terms "lower class," "working poor," and "underclass"

### **KEY POINTS**

Low educational attainment and disabilities are two of the main reasons individuals can either struggle to find work or fall into the lower class.

Generally, the term lower class describes individuals working easily-filled employment positions. These positions typically have little prestige or economic compensation, and do not require workers to have a high school education.

Lower class households are at the greatest risk of falling below the poverty line if a job holder suddenly becomes unemployed.

### **TERMS**

#### Underclass

the poorest class of people in a given society

#### Poverty line

This is the threshold of poverty used by the U.S. Census Bureau to define the minimum income one must earn to meet basic material needs.

#### Public Assistance

the various forms of material aid provided by the government to those who are in need

## Manual Labor

Any work done by hand; usually implying it is unskilled or physically demanding.

### EXAMPLES

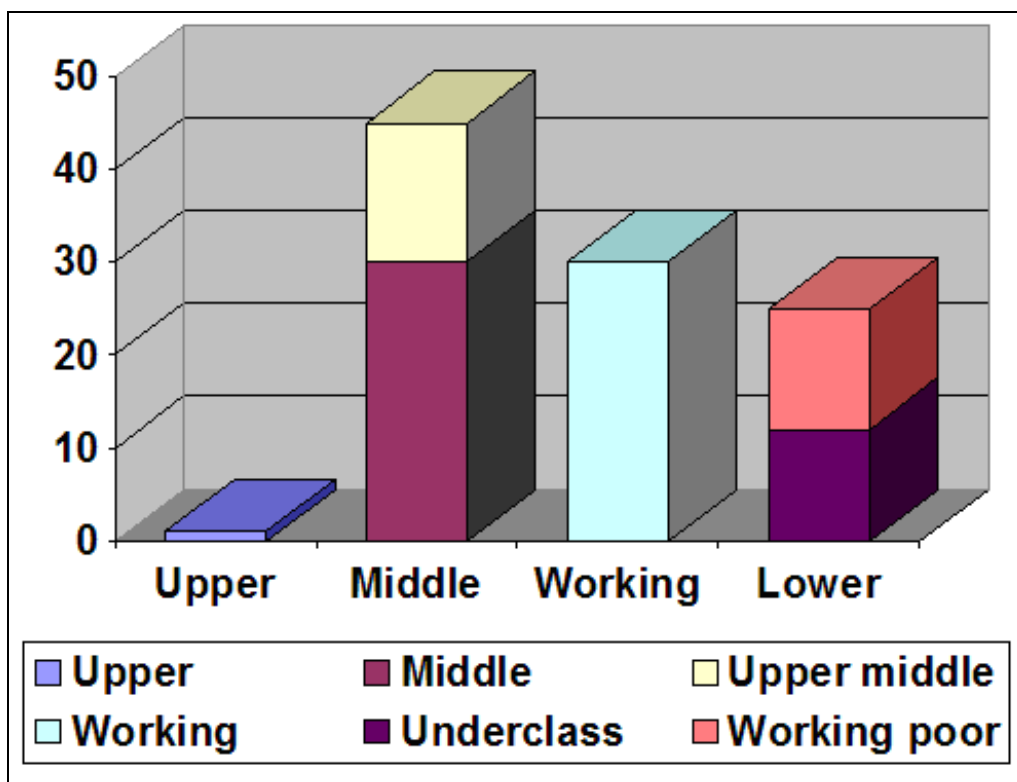
Store cashiers, seasonal farmhands, and tollbooth operators may all be considered members of the lower class. Their occupations are largely unskilled and consist of repetitive tasks, and they achieve only a meager income.

### Defining the Lower Class

The lower class in the United States refers to individuals who are at, or near, the lower end of the socioeconomic hierarchy. As with all social classes in the United States, the lower class is loosely defined, and its boundaries and definitions are subject to debate. When used by social scientists, the lower class is typically defined as service employees, low-level manual laborers, and the unemployed. Those who are employed in lower class occupations are often colloquially referred to as the working poor. Those who do not participate in the labor force, and who rely on public assistance, such as food stamps and welfare checks, as their main source of income, are commonly identified as members of the underclass, or, colloquially, the poor. Generally, lower class individuals work easily-filled employment positions that have little prestige or economic compensation. These individuals often lack a high school education.

### Unemployment and the Poverty Line

A number of things can cause an individual to become unemployed. Two of the most common causes are low educational attainment and disabilities, the latter of which includes both physical and mental ailments that preclude educational or occupational success. The poverty line is defined as the income level at which an individual becomes eligible for public assistance. While only about 12% of households fall below the poverty threshold at one point in time, the total percentage of households that will, at some point during the course of a single year, fall below the poverty line, is much higher. Many such households waver above and below the line throughout a single year. Lower class households are at the greatest risk of falling below this poverty line, particularly if a job holder becomes unemployed. For all of these reasons, lower class households are the most economically vulnerable in the United States.



*Gilbert Model*

This is a model of the socio-economic stratification of American society, as outlined by Dennis Gilbert.

## **Income Distribution**

The United States has a high level of income inequality, with a wide gap between the top and bottom brackets of earners.

### **LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

Explain what is meant by the "Great Divergence"

Discuss the development of income distribution in the US since the 1970's

### **KEY POINTS**

Since the 1970s, inequality has increased dramatically in the United States.

Different groups get different compensation for the same work. The discrepancy in wages between males and females is called the "gender wage gap," and the discrepancy between whites and minorities is called the "racial wage gap".

While earnings from capital and investment are still a significant cause of inequality, income is increasingly segregated by occupation as well. Of earners, 60% in the top 0.1% are executives, managers, supervisors, and financial professionals.

### **TERMS**

#### **Great Divergence**

Refers to the growth of economic inequality in America since the 1970s.

#### **Race Wage Gap**

The difference in earnings between racial or ethnic groups.

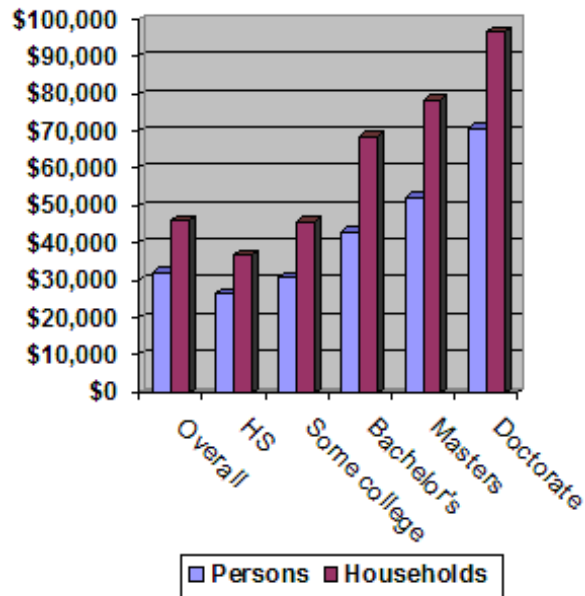
#### **Gender Wage Gap**

The difference between male and female earnings expressed as a percentage of male earnings.

## EXAMPLES

Occupy Wall Street's mantra, "We are the 99%" points to what protesters see as starkly unequal distribution of income and wealth between the top 1% of earners and the rest of the population. While most social scientists see multiple tiers of income distribution within the bottom 99% of earners, the top 1% does hold a disproportionately high percentage of assets.

Unequal distribution of income between genders, races, and the population, in general, in the United States has been the frequent subject of study by scholars and institutions. Inequality between male and female workers, called the "gender wage gap," has decreased considerably over the last several decades. During the same time, inequality between black and white Americans, sometimes called the "race wage gap," has stagnated, not improving but not getting worse. Nevertheless, data from a number of sources indicate that overall income inequality in the United States has grown significantly since the late 1970s, widening the gap between the country's rich and poor.



Income Distribution by Education

This graph illustrates the unequal distribution of income between groups with different levels of educational attainment. Education is an indicator of class position, meaning that unequal distribution of income by education points to inequality between the classes.

A number of studies by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Congressional Budget Office (CBO), and Internal Revenue Service (IRS) have found that the distribution of income in the United States has become increasingly unequal since the 1970s. Economist Paul Krugman and journalist Timothy Noah have referred to this trend as the "Great Divergence." Since the 1970s, income inequality has grown almost continuously, with the exceptions being during the economic recessions in 1990-91, 2001, and 2007. The Great Divergence differs in some ways from the pre-Depression era inequality observed in the early 1900s (the last period of great inequality). Before 1937, a larger share of top earners' income came from capital (interest, dividends, income from rent, capital gains). Post-1970, a higher proportion of the income of high-income taxpayers comes predominantly from employment compensation—60% of earners in the top 0.1% are executives, managers, supervisors, and financial professionals, and the five most common professions among the top 1% of earners are managers, physicians, administrators, lawyers, and financial specialists. Still, much of the richest Americans' accumulated wealth is in the form of stocks and real estate.

## **Property**

***Property is the total of one's possessions and, therefore, may be a better measure of social class than income.***

### **LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

Describe the various forms of property - private, public and collective - and their functions

Discuss the difference between property and possession

### **KEY POINTS**

Property goes beyond income as a measure of social class as it reflects the accumulated wealth (e.g., homes, stocks, bonds, savings) in addition to one's earning potential.

Private property is distinguishable from public property and collective property, which refers to assets owned by a state, community, or government rather than by individuals or a business entity.

Economic liberals consider private property to be essential for the construction of a prosperous society.

Socialists view private property relations as limiting the potential of productive forces in the economy.

Libertarians believe that private property rights are a requisite for rational and efficient economic calculation.

### **TERMS**

#### **Libertarian**

A believer in a political doctrine that emphasizes individual liberty and a lack of governmental regulation and oversight both in matters of the economy ('free market') and in personal behavior.

#### **Economic Liberals**

Economic liberalism is the ideological belief in organizing the economy on individualist lines, such that the greatest possible number of economic decisions are made by private individuals and not by collective institutions.

## EXAMPLES

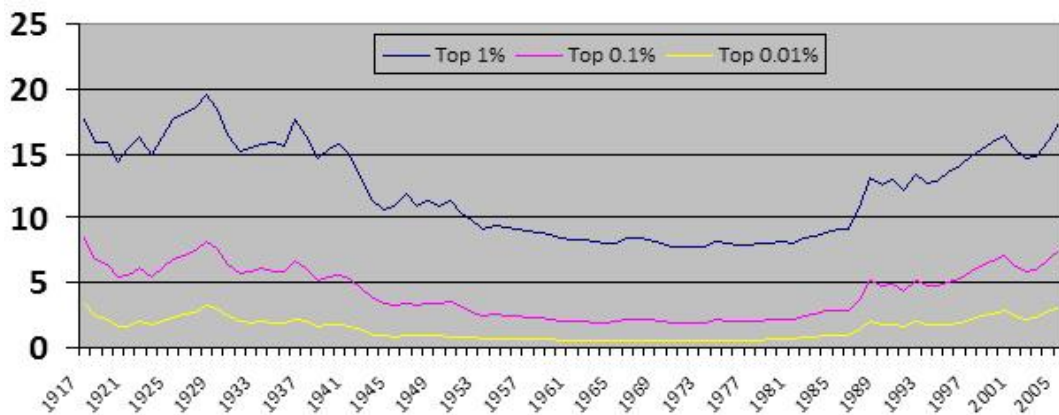
An example of private property stimulating economic growth is when a homeowner makes home improvements to increase the value of their home, when in a similar situation a tenant in a government-owned building would not invest money in home improvements.

An example of private property stimulating economic growth is when a homeowner makes home improvements to increase the value of their home, when in a similar situation a tenant in a government owned building would not invest money in home improvements.

Socialist policies benefiting national economic growth may include the protection of natural resources to secure long term access to land, oil, or fresh water, as opposed to private corporations solely short term interest in exploiting natural resources for immediate profit.

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Property refers to the sum total of one's possessions, as well as their regular income. It goes beyond income as a measure of social class, as it reflects wealth accumulated (e.g., homes, stocks, bonds, savings) in addition to one's earning potential. Property is a better overall measure of social class than income, as many individuals who are considered wealthy actually have very small income, and those with less property tend to have less power and prestige.





## Income

Income is one form of property, and contributes significantly the measures of wealth. In the United States, the top 1% of the population earns a disproportionate amount of national income, coinciding with their position at the top of the social class hierarchy.

Private property is the ownership, control, employment, ability to dispose of, and bequeath land, capital, and other forms of property by persons and privately owned firms. Private property is distinguishable from public property and collective property, which refers to assets owned by a state, community, or government rather than by individuals or a business entity. The concept of property is not equivalent to that of possession. Property and ownership refer to a socially constructed circumstance conferred upon individuals or collective entities by the state, whereas possession is a physical phenomenon.

Economic liberals consider private property to be essential for the construction of a prosperous society. They believe private ownership of land ensures the land will be put to productive use and its value protected by the landowner. If the owners must pay property taxes, this forces the owners to maintain a productive output from the land to keep taxes current.

On the other hand, socialists view private property relations as limiting the potential of productive forces in the economy. They believe private property becomes useless when it concentrates into centralized, socialized institutions based on private appropriation of revenue until the role of the capitalist becomes redundant.

Lastly, libertarians believe that private property rights are a requisite for rational economic calculation, and that without clearly defined property rights, the prices of goods and services cannot be determined in an "efficient" manner, making the most efficient economic calculation impossible.

## **Power**

Power refers to someone's ability to get others to do his or her will, regardless of whether or not they want to.

### **LEARNING OBJECTIVE**

Compare the positives and negatives associated with the use of power and how power operates in society

### **KEY POINTS**

Legitimate power, power given to individuals willingly by others, is called "authority".

Illegitimate power, power taken by force or the threat of force, is called "coercion".

Coercion is power taken by force or the threat of force.

Influence, in contrast to coercion, refers to the means by which power is used.

Because power operates both relationally and reciprocally, sociologists speak of the balance of power between parties to a relationship. All parties to all relationships have some power.

### **TERMS**

#### influence

An action exerted by a person or thing with such power on another to cause change.

#### coercion

Actual or threatened force for the purpose of compelling action by another person; the act of coercing.

## EXAMPLES

The authority exerted by political leaders is an example of legitimate power. State-level politicians in the United States are often not wealthy, but they have the authority to enact their wills through government policy.

Power refers to someone's ability to get others to do his or her will, regardless of whether or not they want to. It is also a measurement of an entity's ability to control its environment, including the behavior of other entities. Legitimate power, power given to individuals willingly by others, is called "authority;" illegitimate power, power taken by force or the threat of force, is called "coercion." In the corporate environment, power is often expressed as upward or downward. With downward power, a company's superior influences subordinates. When a company exerts upward power, it is the subordinates who influence the decisions of the leader. Often, the study of power in a society is referred to as "politics."

Power can be seen as evil or unjust, but the exercise of power is accepted as endemic to humans as social beings. The use of power need not involve coercion (force or the threat of force). At one extreme, it more closely resembles what everyday English-speakers call "influence," or the means by which power is used. Although power can be seen as various forms of constraint on human action, it can also be understood as that which makes action possible, although in a limited scope.

Because power operates both relationally and reciprocally, sociologists speak of the balance of power between parties to a relationship. All parties to all relationships have some power. The sociological examination of power concerns itself with discovering and describing the relative strengths—equal or unequal, stable, or subject to periodic change. Sociologists usually analyze relationships in which the parties have relatively equal or nearly equal power in terms of constraint rather than of power.

## **Prestige**

Prestige refers to the reputation or esteem associated with one's position in society, which is closely tied to their social class.

### **LEARNING OBJECTIVE**

Understand the two types of prestige - achieved and ascribed, and how prestige is related to power, property and social mobility

### **KEY POINTS**

Prestige used to be associated with one's family name, but for most people in developed countries, prestige is now generally tied to one's occupation.

Highly skilled occupations tend to have more prestige associated with them than low skill occupations.

Prestige is often related to the other two indicators of social class - property and power.

Prestige is an important element in social mobility.

### **TERMS**

social class

A group of people in a stratified hierarchy, based on social power, wealth, educational attainment, and other criteria.

#### Occupation

A regular activity performed in exchange for payment, including jobs and professions.

#### Prestige

A measure of how good the reputation of something or someone is, or how favorably something or someone is regarded.

## EXAMPLES

A college professor has high occupational prestige, largely due to the high level of education associated with the job, even though they often do not have notably high incomes. Funeral directors have low occupational prestige, despite high incomes.

Funeral directors are examples of people who have low occupational prestige despite high incomes.

Prestige refers to the reputation or esteem associated with one's position in society. A person can earn prestige by his or her own achievements, which is known as achieved status, or they can be placed in the stratification system by their inherited position, which is called ascribed status. For example, prestige used to be associated with one's family name (ascribed status), but for most people in developed countries, prestige is now generally tied to one's occupation (achieved status). Occupations like physicians or lawyers tend to have more prestige associated with them than occupations like bartender or janitor. An individual's prestige is closely tied to their social class – the higher the prestige of an individual (through their occupation or, sometimes, their family name), the higher their social class.

Prestige is often related to the other two indicators of social class - property and power. A Supreme Court justice, for example, is usually wealthy, enjoys a great deal of prestige, and exercises significant power. In some cases, however, a person ranks differently on these indicators, such as funeral directors. Their prestige is fairly low, but most have higher incomes than college professors, who are among the most educated people in America and have high prestige.

Prestige is a strong element in social mobility. On the one hand, choosing certain occupations or attending certain schools can influence a person's level of prestige. While these opportunities are not equally available to everyone, one's choices can, at least to a limited extent, increase or decrease one's prestige, and lead to social mobility. On the other hand, certain elements of prestige are fixed; family name, place of birth, parents' occupations, etc., are unchangeable parts of prestige that cause social stratification

## Status Inconsistency

Status inconsistency occurs when an individual's social positions are varied and these variations influence his or her overall social status.

### LEARNING OBJECTIVE

Discuss the concept of status inconsistency and how this phenomena can lead to frustration for people

### KEY POINTS

Introduced by the sociologist Gerhard Lenski in the 1950s, status inconsistency theories predict that people whose status is inconsistent will be more frustrated and dissatisfied than people with consistent statuses.

Sociologists investigate issues of status inconsistency in order to better understand status systems and stratification.

Max Weber articulated three major dimensions of stratification in his discussion of class, power, and status.

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### TERMS

#### Sociologist

A social scientist focused on the study of society, human social interaction, and the rules and processes that bind and separate people not only as individuals, but as members of associations, groups and institutions.

#### Max Weber

(1864–1920) A German sociologist, philosopher, and political economist who profoundly influenced social theory, social research, and the discipline of sociology itself.

#### Status Inconsistency

A situation in which an individual's varied social positions can have both positive and negative influences on his or her social status.

## EXAMPLES

A schoolteacher is an example of someone who experiences status inconsistency; he is granted respect by most members of society, but he does not earn a top income.

Status consistency occurs when somebody has similar levels of property, prestige, and class -- for example, a Supreme Court justice is held in high esteem, is able to enact their will, and is likely to have accumulated wealth.

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Status inconsistency is a situation where an individual's social positions have both positive and negative influences on his or her social status. Introduced by the sociologist Gerhard Lenski in the 1950s, status inconsistency theories predict that people whose statuses are inconsistent will be more frustrated and dissatisfied than people with consistent statuses. For example, a teacher may have a positive societal image (respect, prestige, etc.), which increases her status but she may earn little money, which simultaneously decreases her status.

All societies have some basis for social stratification, and industrial societies are characterized by multiple dimensions to which some vertical hierarchy may be imputed. The notion of status inconsistency is simple: It is defined as occupying different vertical positions in two or more hierarchies. Sociologists investigate issues of status inconsistency in order to better understand status systems and stratification, and because some sociologists believe that positions of status inconsistency might have strong effects on people's behavior.

Max Weber articulated three major dimensions of stratification in his discussion of class, power, and status. This multifaceted framework provides the background concepts for discussing status inconsistency. Status inconsistency theories predict that people whose status is inconsistent, or higher on one dimension than on another, will be more frustrated and dissatisfied than people with consistent statuses.

Gerhard Lenski originally predicted that people suffering from status inconsistency would favor political actions and parties directed against higher status groups. According to Lenski, the concept can be used to further explain why status groups made up of wealthy minorities who would be presumed conservative tend to be liberal instead. Since Lenski coined the term, status inconsistency has remained controversial with limited empirical verification.

## **Bureaucratization of Schools**

*The bureaucratization of schools has some advantages but has also led to the perpetuation of discrimination and an aversion to change.*

### **LEARNING OBJECTIVE**

Discuss the critical issues and historical origins of school bureaucratization, particularly in relation to educational reform and deliverance of service.

### **KEY POINTS**

A bureaucracy is a large, formal, secondary organization characterized by a hierarchy of authority, a clear division of labor, explicit rules, and impersonal interactions between its members.

In theory, bureaucracies are meritocracies that improve efficiency, ensure equal opportunities, and increase efficiency. In reality, some individuals benefit from structural privileges and social origins like a dominant race, language, or culture to which some other individuals may not have access.

The foundations of the current educational system originated in the Industrial Revolution. The school environment became structured around hierarchy, standardization, and specialization.

The bureaucratization of schools makes it difficult to instigate appropriate and immediate change when it is required by the changing needs of a society.

In a pluralistic society, disseminating the dominant culture through public education is a topic of heated social debate. Religious, cultural, and ethnic groups can feel marginalized and alienated when they are forced to conform to bureaucratic structures.

Advances in information technologies provide constant connectivity to the virtual world. Schools have begun to take advantage of these virtual tools as enhancements and replacements of physical school structures and face-to-face learning experiences.



## **TERMS**

### Education Reform

The process of improving public education.

### Hierarchy

Any group of objects ranked so that everyone but the topmost is subordinate to a specified group above it.

"one best system"

The idea that there is one uniform, standardized approach that forms the best strategy to educate all children.

## **EXAMPLES**

Schools are environments structured around hierarchy, standardization, and specialization of certain skills. The structural rules and protocol of a bureaucratic school can marginalize groups that have not undergone cultural immersion or sufficient socialization into a society's value system. These groups are more likely to experience institutional discrimination in the bureaucratized school system. Micro-level aggression can be subtler than outright discrimination like racial slurs.

For example, understanding the English language is a valuable skill in American society. A child that grew up in a household where English is not the spoken language might have more problems comprehending English vocabulary in primary school than other students from English-speaking households. In the American classroom of a bureaucratized school, teachers might discriminate against this student by interacting with the student as if he/she were less capable than his/her peers of learning course material.

Another example could be a child raised on cultural values of silence and obedience who enters a course dependent on argumentative and talkative students for classroom discussions. The teacher and the child's peers might discriminate against the child in micro-level interactions based on assumptions that the child does not have anything intelligent to contribute or does not want to actively participate in classroom learning. Since the bureaucratic system of the school is modeled for the dominant group and its cultural values, these hypothetical examples might lead teachers to place students with different social origins than the dominant group in remedial courses or slower learning tracks.

The adaption of technology is spreading among school districts for any variety of reasons including the ability to exploit Internet access or as a government-funded initiative. The data gathered from the Virtual Educational Organization case study describes how one school district was in the formative stage of developing a virtual organizational structure based upon a convergence of high quality software, Internet connectivity, and capacity building to support digital teaching and learning. This school district was actively adopting technology and software as integrated, and integral, components of the traditional bureaucratic hierarchical brick and mortar system of schooling. Not only was technology changing the nature of teaching and learning, aspects of the educational organization were being replaced by software that extended the nature of school organization into virtual management, virtual leadership, virtual pedagogy, and virtual learning that resulted in online and hybrid courses that, taken together, were an extension of the local school and school district. This study indicated that this K-12 educational organization was taking technology beyond a useful application of computers as one-dimensional tools to an emerging multi-dimensional media rich structure that extended learning into a personalized digital educational experience.

A bureaucracy is an organization of non-elected officials of a government or organization who implement the rules, laws, and functions of their institution. In modern society, all formal organizations are, or likely will become, bureaucracies.

### ***According to Weber***

The German sociologist and political economist Max Weber (1864-1920) began to study bureaucracy and popularize the term in academic literature and discourse during the mid 1800s and early 1900s. Weber believed that bureaucracy was the most efficient and rational way of organizing. For Weber, bureaucratization was the key process in his theory on rationalization of Western society. Weber popularly characterized a bureaucracy as having a hierarchy of authority, a clear division of labor, explicit rules, and impersonality.

### ***Critical Issues of School Bureaucratization***

There are several positive aspects of bureaucracies. They are intended to ensure equal opportunities and increase efficiency based on a meritocratic structure. Meritocracy means that hiring and promotion should be based on proven and documented skills, rather than on nepotism or random choice. For example, in order to get into a prestigious college, you need to perform well on the SAT and have an impressive transcript. In order to become a lawyer and represent clients, you must graduate from law school and pass the state bar exam. However, the theory of meritocracy becomes convoluted when it is applied to schools because some individuals have access to privileges that give them advantages over other individuals. For example, wealthy families can hire tutors, interview coaches,

test-prep services, and consultants to help their kids gain the valued skills that will ultimately help them get into the best schools.

Despite good intentions and abundant rhetoric about "equal educational opportunity," schools have rarely taught the children of the poor effectively. This failure has been systematic, not idiosyncratic. Talk about "keeping the schools out of politics" has often served to obscure actual alignments of power and patterns of privilege. For example, before the Emancipation Proclamation, many black people sought education through private, voluntary schools, which shows that they had a strong desire for education, generally believing that they could improve their social status through the equalizing power of schooling. However, they were excluded from the school system by segregation laws. Even after desegregation, black students faced intense racism in mixed schools, and minority students continue to face institutional racism and discrimination on the level of micro-interactions.

### ***Historical Origins of School Bureaucratization***

In order to understand the bureaucratization of schools, we must understand the historical development of the school system. When the U.S. transformed into an urban, industrial nation, corporations flourished, potential employees needed an education for a decent job, child labor laws were enforced, and the urban school system changed. During the Industrial Revolution, bureaucracies developed alongside the educational foundations for the current school model. Young workers were trained and organizations were built for mass production, assembly line work, and factory jobs. In schools, students learned to value hierarchical command, standardized outcomes, and specialized skills. These needs formed the basis for school bureaucracies today.

Various interest groups have continually called for education reform. However, bureaucratic authority often perpetuates positions and outworn practices of bureaucracy at the expense of timely change and appropriate education for children's needs. City councils, school boards, superintendents, principals, and government officials from different interest groups and standpoints disagree about the "one best system" for the reproduction of American society. Most critics of school bureaucracies do not question the aim of transmitting the dominant culture through public education, but some dissenters oppose this strategy precisely because they fear children will lose valuable cultural differences through their socialization in the American system.

Immigration trends have posed serious concerns for public school education systems because immigrants often bring religious, ethnic, and cultural differences to the classroom that differ from the protocol and ideology of "one best system." School bureaucracies seek to assimilate foreigners by teaching them English, indoctrinating them in American civics, and providing them with skills and habits needed in the urban job market.

### ***Modern Society and School Bureaucratization***

The assumption that there is "one best system" for educating children has been especially problematic within the context of a pluralistic American society, a globalized world, and advances in information technology. Now, in the information age, this kind of rigid training and adherence to protocol can actually decrease both productivity and efficiency. The model of American education based upon the industrial factory is undergoing a revolution based upon emerging technologies that redefine school organization as a virtual as well as a physical learning environment. In the twenty-first century teaching, learning, and the educational system itself have been buffeted by forces that challenged the traditional bureaucratic arrangement of schools with tall administrative hierarchies, centralized decision-making, and tightly controlled structures.

## **The Sociology of C. Wright Mills**

Before exploring the sociology of C. Wright Mills, there are two points about his sociology that I wish to briefly note. First, he is one of the few sociologists in the 20th century to write within the classical tradition of sociology. By this I mean that Mills attempts interpretive analysis of the total sociocultural systems, attempting to base this analysis on an overall worldview and empirical evidence. In addition, he writes about issues and problems that matter to people, not just to other sociologists, and he writes about them in a way to further our understanding.

From a neo-classical theoretical perspective, Mills writes about the growth of white-collar jobs, and how these jobs determine the values and perceptions of the people who hold them, and how the growth of these jobs affect other sectors of society. He writes about the growth in the size and scope of bureaucratic power in industrial society, how this concentration of authority affects those who hold it and those who are subject to it, and how this growth affects traditional democratic institutions.

He writes about the Cold War and what is at stake in the conflict. He writes about the meaning of communist revolutions around the world. He writes explicitly about the ideology and material interests of elites, and the rise of militarism and military solutions. Mills writes (albeit, almost in passing) about the coming automation of office work, and the impact this automation will have on workers and institutions. Mills writes on the role of ideology and material interest in the new science of management, concluding that this new science is just an elaborate manipulation of workers. Most forcefully, he writes about the proper role of social science in exploring and clarifying these and other central issues of our time, for all people.

While the secondary literature on Mills often remarks on the influence of Marx and Veblen on his sociology--and these two theorists certainly have an influence--the main influence upon his overall world view is very much Max Weber. In all of his writings Mills interprets the world through a coherent theoretical perspective. He uses this theory to explain social structures and processes, rather than obscuring them (either intentionally or inadvertently) through data and jargon. Like the classical theory of the discipline, Mills' vision is a holistic view of entire sociocultural systems, this system is interdependent, and it has profound effects on human values, thought, and behavior. Consequently, his writing remain quite relevant and useful today in our efforts to understand social reality—in our efforts to understand what is going on "out there."

The second point about the sociology of C. Wright Mills that I wish to note is that, aside from being a sociological genius, Mills is also a very gifted writer (two traits that are almost mutually exclusive). He truly has a gift for frank and forthright expression (note). This was particularly true in his "later" years as he took to writing social criticism rather than straight academic prose, with little of the cant and caveat of the modern social scientist. *White Collar*, despite some lapses, is Mills at his most sociological. Beginning with *The Power Elite*, Mills becomes far more polemical and far more critical in his language (note).

Even in his writings as a social critic, however, Mills was always consistent with his overall theory of sociocultural systems and his vision of the role of social science within that system. Writing as a social critic, Mills stirred great controversy among the social scientists of his day. Most modern day treatments of Mills continue to focus on this social criticism. To date, there have been few attempts to summarize his theory in a single comprehensive statement. This work will focus on the vision that informs his critique, the sociological theory behind C. Wright Mills.

As a student of Max Weber, C. Wright Mills' main body of work centers upon the theme of rationalization. Rationalization is the practical application of knowledge to achieve a desired end. Its goal is efficiency, its means are total coordination and control over the social processes needed to attain that goal. It is the guiding principle behind bureaucracy and the increasing division of labor.

For example, *White Collar*, can be viewed as an elaboration and update on Weber's bureaucratization process, detailing the effects of the increasing division of labor on the tone and character of American social life. *The Power Elite* is an exploration of rational-legal bureaucratic authority and its effects on the wielders and subjects of this power. Consistent with the "iron law of oligarchy," Mills details the enlargement and centralization of public and private bureaucracies, and how their emergence affects the democratic process. *The Causes of World War III* can be read as an jeremiad on Weber's ideas on the irrationality of many bureaucratic organizations, or as Mills calls it, the disjunction between institutional rationality and human reason (or sometimes simply "crackpot realism"). Finally, *The Sociological Imagination* is an elaboration of the rationalization of social life and a plea for social scientists and intellectuals to identify and organize resistance to that trend. We will begin exploring this overarching theme of rationalization with a quick summation of some basic assumptions Mills has about the nature of man and society.

## **Assumptions**

Mills begins with the assumption that "human nature" is formed by the interaction of historical and social structure (1959, p. 13). Sociocultural systems, in particular the modern nation-state, determine the type of men and women who inhabit the system. Human beings, Mills asserts, cannot be

understood apart from the social and historical structures in which they are formed and in which they interact (1959, p. 162). The nation-state has become the "history-making unit" in the modern world, the "man-making unit" (1959, p. 158). Through the socialization process, aspects of human character are liberated or repressed. As the history-making unit the nation-state selects and forms the character of human beings, it opens up possibilities and imposes limits on the variety of men and women who make up the society.

The struggle between countries or blocs of countries—such as the struggles between fascism and democracy, or between capitalism and communism—is more than a struggle between which political or economic system will prevail, it is a struggle over which types of human beings will prevail (1959, p. 158). Historical transformations within societies, say the decline of agriculture and the rise of small business, also affect the predominant character of human beings, their values and ideologies, their beliefs and expectations, their very character. Again, men and women can only be understood in the context of the historical sociocultural system in which they live and interact.

While human beings are motivated by the norms, values, and belief systems that prevail in their society, structural change often throw these "vocabularies of motivation" into some confusion (1959, p. 162). The number and variety of structural changes within a society increase as institutions become larger, more embracing, and more interconnected (1959, pp. 20-21). As structural institutions become enlarged and centralized the circle of those who control these organizations also becomes narrowed—the "iron law of oligarchy" prevails (1956, p. 21). Consequently, the tempo of change has sped up appreciably in the modern era, and the changes have become far more consequential for all—for those who are in control of these enlarged organizations, and for those who are subject to them.

## **Bureaucracy**

According to Mills, the rise of white-collar work is rooted in occupational change due to 1) recent growth in bureaucracies; 2) technological change; and 3) the increasing need to market the goods of industrial society. In this section we will examine Mills' analysis of the effects of growing bureaucratization and technological change on the character of white collar life. In the section on "Mass Society," we will examine Mills' analysis of the long-range and pervasive impact of marketing on human behavior.

Through the expansion of production as well as merger, corporations become larger and many former "free entrepreneurs" become mere employees. In the growth of these large bureaucracies, increasing proportions of employees are needed to provide the coordination and managing of others. These mid-level managers, in turn, report to supervisors, and become the links in the "chains of power and obedience, coordinating and supervising other occupational experiences, functions and skills" (1951,

p. 69). With the growth and bureaucratization of the corporate structure, the increasing tasks of government draw still more people into "occupations that regulate and service property and men" (1951, p. 69).

The central characteristics regarding white-collar workers in modern industrial societies are that they are unorganized and dependent upon large bureaucracies for their existence. Unlike the professionals of old, the modern white-collar worker is not free to exercise professional judgment and control, rather he is subject to the manipulations and control of the organization.

By rising to numerical importance in the middle of the twentieth century they have upset the Marxist expectations that society would be divided between entrepreneurs and workers. By their mass existence and dependence they have changed the character and feel of American life. By focusing on white-collar life, Mills believes, we can learn much about American character (1951, p. xv).

Mills repeatedly makes the point that white-collar people are dependent upon the organization for their livelihood. To get and keep these jobs they sell not only their time and skills, but their personalities as well. This is because even the most personal traits are of relevance to the smooth functioning of the organization or to the marketing of goods and services. White-collar workers must learn to repress any resentment or aggression, they are required to smile and dance on command, to live at all times on the job in accordance with the rules of the organization laid down from above.

Mills identifies the division of labor as permeating ever-higher reaches of the white-collar hierarchy. Jobs and tasks that used to be performed by a single individual are now broken up in terms of functions and parceled out to several. Many executives are becoming less autonomous, permitted less initiative on the job. Because of centralization, brought on by the thrust toward ever greater efficiency, decision making increasingly "becomes the application of fixed rules" (1951, p. 141).

This parceling out (or "industrialization") of many executive tasks have allowed bureaucracies to extend the reach of many professionals--allowing them to serve many more clients--through the proliferation of the "semi-professions" and office technology. The semi-professions consist of men and women of very specialized training who engage in the provision of limited and circumscribed services, often under the supervision of the professional. Compared to the traditional professional, semi-professionals have limited authority, prestige, and income (1951, p. 141). It is to the semi-professions that the children of the working classes often aspire.

The other development that has enabled the ever more refined division of labor are the new office machines. Already in 1951, Mills saw the use of office automation as a prime mover in the drive toward centralization in the pursuit of efficiency and profits. And he saw that we have only just begun. "Only



when the machinery and the social organization of the office are fully integrated in terms of maximum efficiency per dollar spent will that age be full blown" (1951, p. 195).

Jobs, Mills observed, are broken up into simple functional tasks. Standards are set in terms of pace and output. Where economically viable, machines are employed. Where automation is impossible, the tasks are parceled out to the unskilled. Policy making and executive functions are centralized and moved up the hierarchy. Semi-professionals are employed to execute these decisions and keep the hierarchy informed. This increasing automation and hyper- specialization is done with an eye toward increasing output while lowering per unit costs. All of which is integral to the centralization and enlargement of executive authority, prestige, and wealth.

With the automation of the office and the growth in the division of labor, the number of routine jobs is increased, authority and job autonomy become attributes of only the top positions. There is an ever greater distinction made in terms of power, prestige, and income between managers and staff (1951, p. 205). The routinized worker is discouraged from using his own independent judgment; his decision making is in accordance with strict rules handed down by others. He becomes alienated from his intellectual capacities, work becomes an enforced activity. The worker becomes alienated from fully realizing himself in his work. By engaging in routinized activity in the name of efficiency, he becomes "estranged" from the work process, alienated from the self (1951, p. 226).

Many of the trends in the workplace of the 1950s, Mills reports, are serving to undermine the status of the white-collar worker. Increasingly, according to Mills, white-collar work is losing associated skills, autonomy, and thus prestige (Elwell, 1999). One trend that is serving to devalue the status of white-collar jobs is the sheer growth in the numbers of these job. This growth is fueled by the increase in the number of people from the lower classes receiving a high school education. When everybody joins a club, Mills notes, it is no longer exclusive, no longer prestigious.

[Mills adds that while the middle-class monopoly on a high school education has been broken, the U.S. has still not reached a situation of equality of educational opportunity. Far too many are still unable to complete high school because of economic circumstances (1951, p. 267).]

By down-grading the education and skill levels required of many white-collar occupations, enlarging the number of people within white-collar occupations, raising the manual laborer's income, and increasing the rates of unemployment among white-collar workers, the status of white-collar is in decline. As we will see, Mills believes this status decline has many effects on the character of the white-collar worker.

The rise of white-collar work also has a profound effect on educational systems in bureaucratic-industrial societies. Educated intelligence, in the traditional sense of the word, becomes penalized in white-collar work, where job performance and promotion are based on routinized work and following the bureaucratic rules and dictates of others (1951, 267). As a result, Mills says, American education has shifted toward a vocational focus. High schools, as well as colleges, have become the training grounds for the large bureaucracies of government and industry (1951, p. 266).

The aim of a college education today is to prepare the young for a good job in a large corporation or for service in a government agency. This involves not only vocational training, but also education in the proper social values and mannerisms (1951, p. 267). While the aim of 19th century American schooling was the creation of the "good citizen" of democracy, in the middle of the 20th century it has become the creation of the successful man in a society of specialists.

### **Power & Authority**

It is in *White Collar*, not *The Power Elite*, that Mills first notes the tremendous enlargement and centralization of bureaucracies in modern industrial societies. One consequence of the enlargement of bureaucracy, Mills asserts, is the sheer growth in the number of managers and administrators in every sphere of society. As with any position within the social structure, the position of manager or administrator prescribes a set of role expectations and behaviors, role expectations that Mills labels the "managerial demiurge" (1951, p. 77). The role of manager being so central to modern bureaucratic society, with such a large number of people holding the position and many times more subject to their authority, the managerial demiurge has profound consequences for the society as a whole.

For Mills, there are three forms of power. The first is coercion or physical force. Mills writes that such coercion is rarely needed in the modern democratic state. While such power underlies the other two, it is only used as a last resort. The second type of power Mills characterizes as "authority." This is power that is attached to positions and is justified by the beliefs of the obedient. The final form of power, Mills writes, is "manipulation." Manipulation is power that is wielded without the conscious knowledge of the powerless (1958, p. 41). While bureaucratic structures are based on authority, Mills saw such authority often shifting toward manipulation.

Manipulation is not based on terror or external force, although the police powers of the state undergird its authority. Human organizations that depend on the constant use of force and intimidation to discipline its members are extremely inefficient and ultimately ineffective. A system based solely on force must expend much energy policing its members; it stifles initiative, and it provides an obvious target for rallying opposition (1951, p. 110). Rather, the power of manipulation is founded upon the ever more sophisticated methods of control given us by science (including social science) and

technology. The truly efficient organization, in a society dominated by large bureaucracies, is based on the techniques and technologies of manipulation.

Mills characterizes the "managerial demiurge" as an elaborate game of manipulation based on both bureaucratic and political skills (1951, p. 81). As modern management becomes the reigning ethos of the age, the shift from explicit authority relationships to more subtle manipulation becomes the preferred form of power (1951, p. 106). The managerial demiurge does not stop at coordinating the simple behaviors of men and women under its sway, it extends to their opinions and emotions as well (1951, p. 110).

Part of the shift from authority to manipulation is enabled by the new technologies of mass communication, part of the shift is due to the new ideologies of management and the advances in the social sciences (1951, p. 110). But these technological advances (and advances in technique) merely allow the shift to occur. The cause of the shift is the centralization and enlargement of political power itself. Authority has need of legitimation to secure loyalty and obedience. Manipulation arises when such centralized authority is not publicly justified, and when those in power do not believe they can justify it (1951, pp. 349-350).

The goal of manipulation is to have men internalize managerial directives without knowing that these directives are not their own motives, without recognizing that they are being victimized (1951, p. 110). In the shift from coercion and authority to manipulation, power shifts from the overt to the covert, from the obvious to the subtle. Exploitation becomes a psychological process (1951, p. 110).

Symbols of legitimation, Mills maintains, are among the most important areas of study for sociologists. These symbols serve to justify or to oppose the arrangements of power and authority within society. However, such symbols are not autonomous, as many would have us believe. Governments do not necessarily rely on the consent of the governed. Governors can now manufacture consent! We must not confuse government's legitimations with its causes (1959, p. 37).

In "pre-capitalist" times, power and authority were obvious and personal, often engendering fear and obedience. If, however, that power should fail to keep people in line, the holder of power and authority could easily become the target of revolt. Manipulative power, on the other hand, is soft and often disguised as therapeutic or advisory.

Over the years the U.S. has been transformed from a nation of small capitalist enterprise to a nation of employees. Yet the ideology suitable for a nation of small capitalists persists and is used to justify the status quo (1951, p. 34). Religion is also used to bless and justify the reigning power relationships.

Rather than being used to guide men in the development of conscience, Mills asserts, religious leaders more often blunt that conscience and cover it up with "peace of mind" (1958, p. 152).

Among the means of power that exist today is the power to manage and manipulate the consent of men. Because the power of manipulation is hidden it deprives the oppressed from identifying the oppressor. This power effectively removes the check of reason and conscience of the ruled on the ruler (1959, pp. 40-41).

Large bureaucratic organizations also affect the relations between the rulers and the ruled. Such organizations insulate the managers from those in lower offices, cutting them off from identifying with them (1951, pp. 110-111). In a bureaucratic setting the decision-maker is often far removed from his victims. Opposition in such a situation is difficult to organize. Because of manipulation, targets for revolt are not readily recognizable, because of bureaucratization they are not readily available (1951, p. 349). Such a situation promotes not only schemers whose explicit ideology is to manipulate the ruled, but a system of social control that fosters irresponsibility on the part of the rulers.

White-collar people subject to the manipulations and control of their superiors, lose both freedom of action and creativity on the job. Such individuals will learn to seek satisfactions elsewhere (1951, p. 228). Emptied of all other meanings and legitimations, jobs are emptied of any intrinsic meaning. Money, in order to build a life outside of work, becomes the only rationale for work itself.

Human factors, such as personality and disposition, increasingly play a role in the efficiency and productivity of bureaucracies and service agencies. Because of this, human relations management has increasingly focused on morale (1951, p. 233). The object of the human relations school is to give the workers the illusion of personal autonomy and a caring environment in order to engender loyalty and commitment to the organization. Under the human relations school, management becomes an elaborate manipulation of workers to maximize productivity (1951, p. 235).

## **Elites**

Mills believed that the bureaucratization of the social structure was both partial and unevenly spread. Yet he saw it as an on-going process, a process that threatened to replace our once loosely integrated democracy with a more managed "corporate-like society" (1951, p. 78). The power of decision-makers, Mills points out, has always been limited by the technology of violence and the degree of organization that prevails in a society. But historically in the West, the means of violence has greatly increased, and the degree of organization has enlarged, centralized, and become ever more efficient (1956, p. 23). Those at the top of the bureaucratic hierarchies that dominate modern industrial society are far more powerful than Caesar, Napoleon, Lenin, or even Hitler. "That the facilities of power are

enormously enlarged and decisively centralized means that the decisions of small groups are now more consequential" (1956, p. 23).

According to Mills, there is a power elite in modern societies, an elite who command the resources of vast bureaucratic organizations that have come to dominate industrial societies (1956, pp. 3-4). As the bureaucracies have centralized and enlarged the circle of those who run these organizations have narrowed and the consequences of their decisions have become enormous (1956, p. 7). According to Mills, the power elite are the key people in the three major institutions of modern society:

*Government*

*Military*

*Corporations*

These institutions have become larger, more powerful, and more centralized in their decision making. Together, the leaders of these institutions have become a unified elite who, while not omnipotent, are formidable.

The elite occupy the key leadership positions within the bureaucracies that now dominate modern societies, the positions in which the effective means of power are now located (1956, p. 9). Thus their power is rooted in authority, an attribute of social organizations, not of individuals. The bureaucracies of state, corporations, and military have become enlarged and centralized and are a means of power never before equaled in human history. These hierarchies of power are the key to understanding modern industrial societies. For these hierarchies are the very basis of power, wealth and prestige in modern times.

By asserting that there is a power elite in American society, Mills is not asserting that there is a self-conscious ruling class who is cynically manipulating the masses. It is not a conspiracy of evil men, he argues, but a social structure that has enlarged and centralized the decision-making process and then placed this authority in the hands of men of similar social background and outlook (1956, pp. 7-9). In Mills' view, major national power now resides almost exclusively in the economic, political, and military domains. All other institutions have diminished in scope and power and been either pushed to the side of modern history, or made subordinate to the big three.

Schools, he asserts, have become appendages of corporations and government, sorting and training young people for their corporate careers, and in so doing inculcating patriotism, respect for authority, and the glories of capitalism along the way. Families are still major socialization agents of the young, but they now share this function with schools and the mass media (1956, p. 6). Through the socialization process, each of us has come to embrace and internalize the system as it is. A general consensus of what is right and natural, good and just, valued and reviled is forged. The interests of the elites become our interests, they become internalized and legitimized.

It is their similar social backgrounds that provide one of the major sources of unity among the elite. The majority of the elite, Mills asserted, come from the upper third of the income and occupational pyramids. They are born of the same upper class. They attend the same preparatory schools and Ivy League universities. They join the same exclusive gentleman's clubs, belong to the same organizations. They are closely linked through intermarriage. It is these common experiences and role expectations that produce men of similar character and values (1956, p. 19). Non-upper class members of the elite consist of hired corporate managers, experts, and corporate lawyers—men who are competent technocrats, who have risen through the ranks, and are subsequently sponsored by the elite and the organizations that they control.

Mills contends that coordination between government and corporations does not just depend on private clubs or being from the same social class. Some of the coordination comes from the interchange of personnel between the three elite hierarchies. The closeness of business and government officials can be seen, Mills asserts, by the ease and frequency with which men pass from one hierarchy to another (1951, p. 83).

Mills also asserted that a good deal of the coordination comes from a growing structural integration of dominant institutions. As each of the elite domains becomes larger, more centralized, and more consequential in its activities, its integration with the other spheres becomes more pronounced. Government, military, and economic decisions become increasingly coordinated and inter-linked. There becomes an unstated structured bias of government and corporate leaders toward one another's interests. National governments are held accountable for the health of their economies. Economies rely on the production of military weapons and the projection of military power. There is an increasing convergence of the interests of the elite (1956, pp. 7-8).

Of the three sectors of institutional power, Mills claims, the corporate sector is the most powerful. But the power elite cannot be understood as a mere reflection of economic elites; rather it is the alliance of economic, political, and military power.

Below the power elite, Mills saw two other levels of power in American society. At the bottom are the great masses of people. Largely unorganized, ill informed, and virtually powerless, they are controlled and manipulated from above. The masses are economically dependent, they are economically and politically exploited. Because they are disorganized, the masses are far removed from the classic democratic public in which voluntary organizations hold the key to power (1956, pp. 28-29).

Between the masses and the elite Mills saw a middle level of power. Composed of local opinion leaders and special interest groups, they neither represent the masses nor have any real effect on the elite. Mills saw the American Congress and American political parties as a reflection of this middle-level of power. Although Congress and political parties debate and decide some minor issues, the power elite ensures that no serious challenge to its authority and control is tolerated in the political arena (1958, p. 36).

The liberal theory of government as the result of a moving balance of forces depends upon an assumption of truly independent units of roughly equal power. And this assumption, according to Mills, rested upon the existence of a large and independent middle class. However, the old independent middle class declined with the small businessman, the true independent professional, and the family farm. Moreover, it has been replaced by the rise of a new class of white collar workers and quasi professionals dependent upon large corporate, government, and military bureaucracy. The new middle class is in the same economic position as the wage worker, dependent upon the large organization. Politically, they are in worse condition for they are not even represented by labor unions (1958, p. 36).

The clash between competing interests occurs at the middle level of power, but it is mainly the clash over a slice of the existing pie. It is this clash that is written about by the political commentators and political scientists, but it is far removed from any clash and debate over fundamental policy. Even here, Mills asserts, the clash between competing interests becomes muted as these interests increasingly become integrated into the apparatus of the state. Bureaucratic administration replaces politics, the maneuvering of cliques replaces the open clash of parties.

The process of integrating previously autonomous political forces (such as labor, professional organizations, and farmers) into the modern state is overt in modern totalitarianism. In the formal democracies the process is much less advanced and explicit, yet it is still well under way. These interest groups increasingly maneuver within and between the political parties and organs of the state seeking to become a part of the state. Their chief desire is to maintain their organizations and to secure for their members maximum economic advantage (1958, p. 39-40). The middle level of power thus does little to question the rule of the elite; nor does it seek any benefit for the great masses of men and women outside of their organization.

In those societies in which power is diffuse and decentralized, history is the result of innumerable decisions by numerous men. All contribute to eventual changes in social structure. In such societies, no one individual or small group has much control, history moves "behind men's backs." But in societies in which the means of power have become enlarged and centralized, the men who control the dominant bureaucracies modify the structural conditions in which most men live.

The positions of the elite allow them to transcend the ordinary environments of men and women. The elite have access to levers of power that make their decisions (as well as their failure to act) consequential. In a society in which structural institutions have become enlarged, centralized, and all encompassing, who controls those institutions becomes the central issue of our time. One important consequence of this fact, Mills asserts, is that leaders of the modern nation state can exert much more coordination and control over the actions of that state.

To date, Mills fears, these leaders are acting (or failing to act) with irresponsibility, thus leading us to disaster. But this does not mean that it always must be so. The great structural change that has enlarged the means and extent of power and concentrated it in so few hands now makes it imperative to hold these men responsible for the course of events (1958, p. 100).

By 1958, Mills seemed much more concerned with the rise of militarism among the elites than with the hypothesis that many elites were military men. According to Mills, the rise of the military state serves the interests of the elite of industrial societies (1958, pp. 86-87). For the politician the projection of military power serves as a cover for their lack of vision and innovative leadership. For corporate elites the preparations for war and the projection of military power underwrites their research and development as well as provides a guarantee of stable profits through corporate subsidies (1958, p. 87). This militarism is inculcated in the population through school room and pulpit patriotism, through manipulation and control of the news, through the cultivation of opinion leaders and unofficial ideology.

But it is not just the existence of a power elite that has allowed this manufactured militarism to dominate. It has also been enabled by the apathy and moral insensibility of the masses and by the political inactivity of intellectuals in both communist and capitalist countries. Most intellectual, scientific, and religious leaders are echoing the elaborate confusions of the elite. They are refusing to question elite policies, they are refusing to offer alternatives. They have abdicated their role, they allow the elite to rule unhindered (1958, pp. 88-89).



## *Mass Society*

One of the great unifiers of life and character in the U.S. are the mass communications industry. Mass communications, according to Mills, serves to mold modern consciousness and political thought (1951, p. 333). Mills goes on to point out that there were no mass media to speak of in Marx's day, so its influence would be easy to overlook. But in the modern world, he asserts, the form and content of political and social consciousness cannot be understood without reference to the image of the world presented by these media.

What a person comes to believe about a whole range of issues is a function of his experience, his first-hand contact with others, and his exposure to the mass media. In this, Mills asserts, the media is often the one that is decisive. The mass media are now the common denominator of American consciousness. They extend across all social environments, now even directly reaching out to mold the consciousness of children. Contents and images in the media have become a part of our self-image, and will over the next few generations modify the very character of man (1951, p. 334).

Mills is not writing simply of the news and the explicit political content of the mass media. This, he claims, characterizes but a small portion of the fare served up to the American people on a daily basis. Rather, Mills is focused on the rapidly growing entertainment and marketing industries. Entertainment and sports, which in their modern scale were only some 30 years old at Mills' writing, serve to divert attention from politics and social issues. The mass marketing of consumer products, which sponsors these attractions, is also a recent phenomenon that has a profound impact on the consciousness of men and women (1951, p. 336).

The role of the salesman has shifted in a society that is threatened by a glut of consumer goods. Mass production has meant an increasing need to distribute goods to national markets. Before mass production and the consequent need to move product, salesmanship meant knowledge of a product and providing that information to the potential buyer. Now, salesmanship focuses upon "hypnotizing the prospect," a science/art pioneered by psychology that has become pervasive in society. Ad-men and psychologists attempt to improve their techniques of persuading people to buy (1951, 165).

Persuasion, according to Mills, becomes a style of life for all types of relationships--marketers selling their products, entrepreneurs selling their ideas, campaign managers selling their candidates, employees selling themselves. The culture of selling has become so ingrained in the American psyche that it has become an "all-pervasive atmosphere," we have turned America into the "biggest bazaar" in the history of the world (1951, pp 165-166). This "Big Bazaar," Mills asserts, is as important in understanding modern life as the family or the factory. Like the family, it feeds, clothes, amuses, supplying all necessities and creating in us additional "needs." Like the factory, it manufactures the

"dreams of life," dedicated to surrounding people with the "commodities for which they live" (1951, p. 167). While success has always been a driving force in American society, the confusion of success with mere consumption has made it a "dubious motive," and emptied it of real meaning as a way of life (1951, p. 259).

### *Rationalization*

But what is at the root of the enlargement and centralization of structural bureaucracies in the modern world? Mills answers this question clearly and repeatedly, the rationalization of the world is the master trend of our time. The key to power in the modern world is social organization and technological development. The means of production are now organized to maximize efficiency, and in that cause bureaucracies have become ever more encompassing, work ever more alienating, and culture ever more exploitive. Also behind the growth in the power, scope, and scale of bureaucracy is the new technology of coordination and control—a technology that Mills recognized as being in its infancy (1951, p. 195; 1956, p. 7).

As applied to work in industrial-bureaucratic societies, rationalization has led to jobs that have been reduced to standardized (and thus easily repeatable) movements and decision making in accordance with written rules and regulations. While rationalization has led to the unprecedented increase in both the production and distribution of goods and services, it is also associated with depersonalization, a loss of personal control over the work tasks, and oppressive routine.

The process of rationalization is not restricted to the office, it permeates all areas of social life. "Training for rationalization" begins in the school systems, as schools have been enjoined to provide job training, socialization into authority and bureaucracy, specialization, and goal oriented problem solving. "Families as well as factories, leisure as well as work, neighborhoods as well as states--they become parts of a functionally rational totality..." (1959, p. 169).

Mills saw American farmers being rapidly polarized into two groups. The first, he characterized as small subsistence farmers and wage-workers. The second, as big commercial farmers and rural corporations (1951, p. 19). Behind this movement toward ever-increasing farm size or consequent bankruptcy, of course, stood the machine. The world of the corporate farmer is becoming more and more interdependent with the world of finance, business, and government. These bureaucracies carry the rationalization of the farm forward (1951, pp. 40-41).

While Mills recognized that the rationalization of the farm had a ways to go before it was complete, it had already destroyed the rural way of life. Farming, he wrote, was becoming more and more like any

other industry. The "family farm" a nostalgic term used provide an "ideological veil" for large business interests (1951, p. 44).

Science in the U.S., Mills points out, is an extremely rationalized and bureaucratized enterprise. From the start, science in America has been identified closely with its technological products and its techniques. Recently, it has taken on the social organization of the "assembly line." The U.S. has especially excelled in applied military and commercial projects, and in the marketing and mass production of these discoveries and inventions. This is in stark contrast to the classic academic tradition of pure research, unfettered and uncoordinated by practical needs or commercial interests. "In brief, the U.S. has built a Science Machine: a corporate organization and rationalization of the process of technological development and to some extent--I believe unknown--of scientific discovery itself" (1958, p. 161).

### *Social Problems*

Mills' sociology focuses on substantive problems of modern industrial societies. He identified five overarching problems: 1) alienation; 2) moral insensibility; 3) threats to democracy; 4) threats to human freedom; and 5) the conflict between bureaucratic rationality and human reason. Each of these problems, according to Mills, are due to the bureaucratization process.

Like Marx, Mills views the problem of alienation as a characteristic of modern society and one that is deeply rooted in the character of work. The shift from a rural and agriculturally based world to an urban society in which many employees depend upon large bureaucracies have set up the "property conditions" for alienation to spread beyond the factory (1951, p. 224). Many of the characteristics of white-collar work are just as alienating as the manufacturing work that Marx wrote about. Most white-collar jobs do not entail much freedom or decision making on the job, few entail work as craftsmanship.

White-collar work may even be considered more alienating than traditional blue-collar work, according to Mills, in that white-collar often involves the subjugation of the entire personality into the work process, not just the physical actions of the worker (1951, p. 225 & 1951,p. 227). This "personality market" that is part of much white-collar work (Mills claims that personality is often the more decisive on getting and keeping a job than skills) "underlies the all-pervasive distrust and self-alienation so characteristic" of modern people (1951, pp. 87-88).

Unlike Marx, however, Mills does not attribute alienation to capitalism alone. While he agrees that much alienation is due to the ownership of the means of production, he believes much of it is also due

to the modern division of labor (1951, p. 225). The precise degree of alienation will vary, according to Mills, with the degree of autonomy, freedom, and level of skill that a worker brings to the job. Nevertheless, almost any job in modern society will be characterized by some degree of alienation because the employee's actions are subject to the management of others.

Because of the detailed division of labor, the worker does not carry through the work process to the final product. In fact, the worker is often not even aware of the entire process. This, Mills argues, cuts the link of meaning between process and product. White-collar work is also alienating because, even in many professional jobs, the worker is often denied the chance to employ his mind by the centralized decision making that characterizes the modern bureaucratic enterprise. The root cause of alienation, Mills states, goes far beyond ownership and markets--it is in the form of organization itself. An organization that removes the worker from any understanding of his work, removes him from control over his work, and determines for men when and how fast they will work.

But the destruction of freedom and autonomy, craftsmanship and control on the job is not felt as a crisis by modern man. They might feel it as a crisis, Mills states, if they had either directly experienced the shift themselves or perhaps indirectly experienced it through their parents. However, this has not been the case. The loss has occurred gradually over the last several generations, it is only in the imaginations of the social scientist that we can gauge its importance (1951, p. 228). However, even though American workers do not feel this loss of connection in their work they are still disconnected. Such workers must seek meaning in their lives elsewhere.

One of the fundamental problems of mass society is that many people have lost their faith in leaders and are therefore very apathetic. Such people pay little attention to politics. Mills characterizes such apathy as a "spiritual condition" which is at the root of many of our contemporary problems (1958, pp. 81- 82). For example, war and peace between nations, Mills claims, cannot be understood through naive appeals to better communications between people, or assertions of innate human aggression. War in modern times, Mills writes, is rooted in the apathy of the people who are "selected, molded, and honored in the mass society" (1958, p. 81). This apathy leads to "moral insensibility." Such people mutely accept atrocities committed by their leaders. They lack indignation when confronted with moral horror, they lack the capacity to morally react to the character, decisions, and actions of their leaders (1958, p. 82).

Mass communications contributes to this condition, Mills argues, through the sheer volume of images aimed at the individual in which she "becomes the spectator of everything but the human witness of nothing" (1958, p. 83). Images of horror become common place. Atrocities are gotten used to, they are emptied of any human meaning. There is little sense of moral outrage or shock.

Mills relates this moral insensibility directly to the rationalization process. Our acts of cruelty and barbarism are split from the consciousness of men--both perpetrators and observers. We perform these acts as part of our role in formal organizations. We are guided not by individual consciousness, but by the orders of others. Thus many of our actions are inhuman, not because of the scale of their cruelty, but because they are impersonal, efficient, and performed without any real emotion (1958, pp. 83-84). We no longer recognize any inner moral constraint, the only constraints to our actions (and the actions of our leaders) come from outside--fear of reprisal from more powerful entities or simple political expediency.

Mills believed that widespread alienation, political indifference, and economic and political concentration of power is a serious threat to democracy. Mills defines democracy as simply a system in which those who are affected by decisions have an effective voice in those decisions.

According to Mills, there are six conditions essential for maintaining a modern democratic state:

- *A public that is both informed of issues and actively involved in debating these issues.*
- *"Nationally responsible parties" which debate these issues clearly and openly.*
- *A skilled civil service independent of any private or corporate interests.*
- *Intellectuals, both within and outside of academe, who carry on work truly relevant to public policy.*
- *A mass media of communication which is informed by these debates and is capable of translating issues to a broader public*
- *Free associations that are capable of linking individuals, families, communities and publics with more formal organizations such as corporations, military, and agencies of government (1958, pp. 121-123).*

As is apparent, Mills considered discussion and debate as the cornerstone of democracy. Free associations are necessary vehicles for the exercise and formation of reasoned option. Further, these free associations are necessary to prepare people for leadership at all levels in a free democratic society (1958, p. 123). There are a number of discrepancies between Mills' conception of an ideal modern democratic state and what is occurring in contemporary America. Because of these discrepancies, Mills points out, small groups and associations are in decline, and those that do discuss important issues have only "a faint and restraining voice" in formal decision making (1958, p. 123).

The structural factor that prevents the fulfillment of the six conditions for democracy, however, is the existence of a power elite in American society. Private corporations acting in their own interests, the ascendancy of militarism, and the refusal of government to address either are key factors in the decline of democracy in America (1958, pp. 123-124). Power in America is concentrated in a handful of huge bureaucratic organizations. The lines of control between the powerful at the top of these organizations and any democratic control--even among agencies of government itself--"become blurred and tenuous" (1951, p. 158).

Mills saw America as a society of privatized men dominated by huge bureaucratic organizations. These organizations were not firmly legitimated, they do not engender widespread loyalty or enthusiasm. However, he did not see the society as being in any danger of imminent collapse. A society held together by convention and a network of bureaucratic power, he argued, even if only lightly legitimated, may last many years. This is particularly true if the society can deliver high levels of material goods and comfort (1951, p. 350 & 1951, p. 351).

Finally, Mills is continually concerned in his writings with the threat to two fundamental human values: "freedom and reason." Mills characterizes the trends that imperil these values as being "co-extensive with the major trends of contemporary society" (1959, pp. 129-130). These trends are, Mills states throughout his writings, the centralization and enlargement of vast bureaucratic organizations, and the placing of this extraordinary power and authority into the hands of a small elite.

Economic security used to be based on property ownership. For many, however, economic concentration has shifted the basis of economic security to employment. Because employees by definition are dependent upon bureaucracy for their economic security--a bureaucracy over which they have little control--they can truly be neither free nor secure (1951, pp. 58-59). Because of the concentration of wealth and power, economic freedom--the freedom to do with one's property what one wishes, now places the economic security of thousands of dependent employees at risk, and thus places their freedom at risk as well.

For the individual, rational organization is an alienating organization, destructive of freedom and autonomy. It cuts the individual off from the conscious conduct of his behavior, thought, and ultimately emotions. The individual is guided in her actions not by her consciousness, but by the prescribed roles and the rules of the organization itself. "It is not too much to say that in the extreme development the chance to reason of most men is destroyed, as rationality increases and its locus, its control, is moved from the individual to the big-scale organization. There is then rationality without reason. Such rationality is not commensurate with freedom but the destroyer of it" (1959, p. 170).

In the 18th and 19th centuries, Mills points out, the steady emergence of society organized along rational and democratic principles appeared to be at the forefront of the liberation of man. The irrationalities of traditional monarchies or the rule of the strong and the ruthless were increasingly seen as antithetical to liberty and human happiness. "Now rationality seems to have taken on a new form, to have its seat not in individual men, but in social institutions which by their bureaucratic planning and mathematical foresight usurp both freedom and rationality from the little individual men caught in them. (1951, p. xvii). It is these "calculating hierarchies" which now lay out the "gray ways" of work, that circumscribe individual autonomy and initiative.

Like Weber before him, Mills cautions that a society dominated by rational social organization is not based on reason, intelligence, and good will toward all. Weber summarized this as the difference between substantive (holistic) and formal (bureaucratic) rationality, claiming that the two are often in conflict (Elwell, 1996). In that same vein, Mills asserts that a society dominated by bureaucratic rationality is not one based upon the summation of all the constituent individuals' capacity to reason. He further states that bureaucratic rationality often serves to prevent individuals from even acquiring that capacity (1958, p. 175; 1959, p. 169). For it is through rational social organization that modern day tyrants (as well as more mundane bureaucratic managers) exercise their authority and manipulation, often denying the opportunity of their subjects to exercise their own judgments. We must therefore consider, Mills argues, that as a social product, the human mind might be deteriorating in quality and cultural level (1959, p. 175).

### *Social Science*

One of the central conditions for a modern democracy to exist, according to Mills, is a vibrant intellectual community that is intimately involved in providing knowledge and wisdom to help guide decisions of social polity. By "intellectual community," Mills is referring to scientists, ministers, scholars, artists, and students, those who are part of the great western tradition of reason beginning with the Greeks (1958, p. 129). It is the intellectual community that through art, speech and writing create and disseminate ideas and images that focus the attention of publics on relevant or irrelevant issues, justifies or criticizes the policies of those in authority (1958, p. 129).

The dissemination of publicly relevant ideas by the intellectual community is vital in that private experience enable each individual to "know only a small portion of the social world, only a few of the decisions that now affect them" (1958, p. 173). The significant problems of contemporary society are complicated, but they are not so complicated that they can only be dealt with by professionals and experts. The central task of the intellectual is to confront these complications and make social issues accessible to public understanding, discussion, and debate (1958, p. 15). Democracy requires that publics that are affected by decisions are knowledgeable about the issues. It is only through the

intellectual community fulfilling its task that society can bring reason to bear on social issues, that democracy can be more than a sham.

If as intellectuals we fail to confront these issues, Mills continually asserts, we are in default of our intellectual heritage and have abdicated our duty to our society (1951, p. 158). "What scientist," Mills asks, can claim to be part of the legacy of the great western scientific tradition and yet work for the Military Industrial Complex? What social scientist can claim to be part of the legacy of western humanism and, despite a world in which "reason and freedom" are under attack, retreat into methodologically sophisticated studies of trivia? What minister can know God and still approve of the immortality and irresponsibility of our leaders? Unfortunately, Mills concludes, very many in the intellectual community are in default (1958, p. 130).

If in default, if they fail to speak out as public men, they contribute to the erosion of human freedom, dignity, and democracy (1958, p. 170). Worse, in Mills' view, are members of the intellectual community who provide misleading images of the elite as men of reason who are acting in national as opposed to private interests. Such images serve to "soften the political will," allowing men to accept the irresponsibility and greed "without any sense of outrage." Such apologists allow the elite to escape any accountability to the public, essentially giving "up the central goal of Western humanism, so strongly felt in nineteenth-century American experience: the audacious control by reason of man's fate" (1958, p. 173).

As early as *White Collar* (1951), Mills was decrying the excessive specialization of the professorate. Such hyper-specialization leads to an inability to think outside of one's specialized area (1951, pp. 130-131). The prestige system of the academy, of course, contribute to this trend. Books that attempt to span more than one specialty are frowned upon, as are the general textbook within a field. Instead, academic honor and prestige are given for massive tomes on narrow subjects.

This narrowing of knowledge is furthered in the social sciences and humanities by their aping of the methods of the natural sciences--methods that are particularly suited for studying "microscopic fields of inquiry, rather than expanding it to embrace man and society as a whole" (1951, p. 131).

Like other institutions in our society, the university is becoming more and more bureaucratic. This organization has similar effects on the professorate, other professionals, and businessmen. It turns all into bureaucrats executing specialized tasks in accordance with the rules and regulations of the institution (1951, p. 138). The bureaucratic nature of colleges and universities--the hierarchy of authority, the middle-class environment, the separation of intellectual and social life, the excessive academic specialization--all contribute, according to Mills, toward conformity of thought.



The same trends that limit independence of intellect in the larger society are present on the university campus. The professor is an employee, and like all employees is subject to the rule from above in terms of the conditions of work. Writing in the early 50s, of course, Mills notes the attempts to restrain academic freedom through political and business attacks on professors. But he sees such attacks as overtly affecting only a few. Their purpose is in setting the tone for more subtle control of the professorate. While there is also some outright intimidation on some university campuses brought about through tenure, promotion, and merit procedures, there is also the more subtle pressure of collegial control of potential "insurgents." Such manipulative controls keep professors in conformance through "agreements of academic gentlemen" (1951, pp. 151-152). These subtle controls on academic life are also furthered by political and business attempts to standardize curriculums, and by the control of research funds from government agencies and foundations that are "notably averse" to scholars outside the mainstream (1951, pp. 151-152).

The first and central task of the social sciences, according to Mills, is to develop a comprehensive framework for understanding man and society. This framework should be simple enough to allow non-specialists to understand, yet comprehensive enough to encompass the full range and variety of human behavior (1959, p. 133). In accomplishing this task, Mills is decidedly interdisciplinary in outlook. While each of the social sciences tends to specialize in a particular institutional order, any mature social science will relate its findings to the other institutional domains as well. Further, any social science worthy of the name, according to Mills, is firmly rooted in history (1959, p. 145 & 1959, p. 146).

The problem with much social science today, as Mills sees it, is that it is both devoid of theory and any sense of history. Being atheoretical, the social scientist often overlooks the relationships among various technologies, structures, and ideas. Being ahistorical, many social scientists lack the ability to recognize new trends as well as to discriminate between trends of major and minor significance. Classical social analysis, Mills repeatedly insists, is a set of usable traditions and insights that are strongly rooted in history and theory (1959, p. 21).

Classical social science focuses on substantive social problems. It neither builds up from empirical observation nor does it begin with a grand theory of sociocultural systems and deduce down to human behavior. Rather, classic social science places empirical research and theory building in a continuous interaction. Practitioners of the craft attempt to develop comprehensive frameworks for understanding social order, social change, and social problems. They then continually test and reformulate these explanatory frameworks in light of empirical study (1959, p. 128).

However, there are trends within the social sciences as well as trends in the broader society that are endangering the classical tradition and stand in the way of greater social understanding (1959, p. 21).

Within the social sciences, Mills maintains, three trends--abstract empiricism, grand theory, and the use of social science to improve bureaucratic efficiency--have arisen that serve to obscure rather than increase people's understanding of human social behavior.

Of the three trends, Mills' identification of "grand theory" and his critique of it now appear dated. His problem with grand theory was really a problem with the work of Talcott Parsons. Mills took Parsons to task for his (rather painful) elaboration and clarification of concepts, and his alleged inability to apply this generalized theory to further understanding of more concrete reality. Parsons type of theory proved to be a short-term trend in the social sciences. Grand theory as defined by Mills is not a widespread practice in any of the social sciences today. However, the other two trends in the social sciences identified by Mills, abstract empiricism and the use of social science to address bureaucratic problems of coordination and control, now dominate.

According to Mills, there is a certain mystique that has grown up around the use of sophisticated research methods (Mills' abstract empiricism). Mills believes this mystique is misplaced. The purpose of empirical research, he asserts, is simply to discipline ideas (1959, p. 71). Much of social research is rather "thin and uninteresting." It provides useful exercises for students, gives employment to unimaginative social scientists, but there is nothing in it inherently superior to other types of scholarship (1959, p. 205).

Increasingly, social science is often being used by the huge bureaucracies that dominate modern life. Social scientists are often employed by the military, by social service agencies, by the criminal justice system, and by corporations (1959, p. 80). Experts in "human relations" for example, in working to improve the morale of employees are working within the existing system of authority relationships. They are engaged in "manipulation," defining "morale" and exploring ways to improve that morale within the existing relationships of power and authority (1959, pp. 94-95). Social scientists who work for such bureaucracies are more concerned with administrative problems than human problems, more concerned with efficiency than with humanity. Social science in this cause--whether it be for the military, the advertising agency, or the government bureau--is social science for the "non-democratic areas of society" (1959, pp. 114-115). The goal of such research is simply to make bureaucracies more efficient and therefore not only distracts us from our essential task, but supports the powerful and the status quo (1959, p. 117).

Values, according to Mills, necessarily affect social research. Values certainly play a role in selecting the problems that we study as well as many of our "key conceptions." However, the social scientist should be very clear and explicit about her values, and then should strive the best she can to avoid bias in her work (1959, p. 78). [Mills, it must be noted, was always very clear in stating his values, though notably unsuccessful in avoiding bias.] Mills holds a similar view in regard to teaching. The professor

should strive to be very explicit in terms of the assumptions and judgments that he makes. He should clearly indicate to his students "the full range of moral alternatives," and then make his own choices known (1959, p. 79).

### *The Sociological Imagination*

In *White Collar* (1951), Mills makes an initial stab at defining the sociological imagination by calling it "the first lesson of modern sociology." To understand our experience, Mills asserts, we must locate that experience within the context of our historical time and within our social strata (1951, p. xx). Whether people believe it or not, Mills writes, people are moved by historical and economic forces. Such forces are the stuff of sociology. Ordinary men and women often are oblivious to these forces in their lives (1951, p. 294), or they may be but dimly aware of their impact (1959, p. 3).

The sociological imagination is simply a "quality of mind" that allows one to grasp "history and biography and the relations between the two within society (1959, p. 3 & 1959, p. 6). The sociological imagination enables one to switch from one perspective to another, thereby forming a comprehensive view of the sociocultural system (1959, p. 211). This quality of mind is characteristic of the best of classical social analysis--it is why we still find much of it so useful in understanding social reality. This quality of mind is also characteristic of the best in social science today (1959, p. 6).

Social scientists who employ the sociological imagination in their work consistently address structural and historical issues, and how these issues affect human values and behavior. Structurally, imaginative analysts examine the various components of sociocultural systems and how they relate to one another. Such analysts also compare and contrast these components to components of other sociocultural systems. Historically, the imaginative researcher looks at the major historical trends that affect society through time, she examines the mechanics of social trends and change, and she compares the society to itself over different historical times (1959, pp. 6-7). Most important, the social scientist of imagination asks how these structures and history have formed and shaped the members of the sociocultural system. "What varieties of men and women now prevail in this society and in this period? And what varieties are coming to prevail (1959, p. 7).

To truly fulfill the promise of social science requires us to focus upon substantive problems, and to relate these problems to structural and historical features of the sociocultural system. These features have meanings for individuals, and they profoundly affect the values, character, and the behavior of the men and women who make up that sociocultural system (1959, p. 134).

The social sciences are often used in "ideological ways." They are used in legitimating power; they are used in criticizing or debunking the powerful; and they are used in distracting attention away from meaningful issues (1959, p. 80). The promise of the social sciences is to bring reason to bear on human affairs (1959, p. 193). To fulfill this role requires that we "avoid furthering the bureaucratization of reason and of discourse" (1959, p. 192).

In C. Wright Mills own words: "What I am suggesting is that by addressing ourselves to issues and to troubles, and formulating them as problems of social science, we stand the best chance, I believe the only chance, to make reason democratically relevant to human affairs in a free society, and so to realize the classic values that underlie the promise of our studies" (1959, p. 194).

## **History and Debate of Racial Profiling**

Racial profiling is a phrase often used in law enforcement or the court system to refer to the use of a person's ethnicity or race to decide on whether to engage in some type of legal proceeding. The act itself is very controversial and considered by many as illegal and inappropriate.

### **Racial Profiling Debate**

There are several definitions of racial profiling, including those established by different offices like the Office of the Arizona Attorney General. This office defines it as "Use by law enforcement personnel of an individual's race or ethnicity as a factor in articulating reasonable suspicion to stop, question or arrest an individual, unless race or ethnicity is part of an identifying description of a specific suspect for a specific crime." Most definitions are similar in that they identify that some type of police action is being taken that relies on the national origin or race or ethnicity of a person rather than the actual behavior of the person in some manner of criminal activity.

Racial profiling is also referred to as racially-biased policing and can be broken up into a narrow definition and a broad definition. The narrow definition is the most commonly used definition with regards to a police officer stopping, questioning, arresting or searching someone based on his or her ethnicity or race. The more broad definition looks at racial profiling as occurring whenever police use race or ethnicity as a factor when reacting with suspicion and action against an individual.

Critics of racial profiling look to the Fourth Amendment of the United States Constitution to challenge the practice. This amendment protects citizens from unreasonable searches and seizures without probable cause. The Fourteenth Amendment is also used in legal cases to support the right of citizens to be treated equally under the laws of the United States.

In 2001, former President George W. Bush addressed a Joint Session of Congress and declared that racial profiling was wrong and that America was going to end it. He went on to comment that the nation's police officers need the support of the American people, and due to the abuses of a few, they were hindered in doing their jobs properly. Rather than being racially profiled, law enforcement was being pigeon holed, although it could be said they were experiencing a similar situation to that of those individuals who were racially profiled. A year later, Attorney General John Ashcroft shared President Bush's sentiment and stated that using race as an indicator of potential criminal behavior was unconstitutional and undermined the criminal justice system. A former policy regarding racial profiling was issued by the Department of Justice in June of 2003 that forbade the practice by federal law enforcement officials.

## Police Profiling Debate

The racial profiling debate, however, seems to center on whether or not the practice is really all that bad. Some in the realm of law enforcement argue that the practice is necessary and effective. They believe that due to demographic and socio-economic factors and their relation to crime, those in a large minority population have a higher risk of participating in criminal activities. They argue that ignoring the facts due to moral integrity is professionally and morally wrong. If law enforcement officers are to identify and take action against violators, any information to assist them in being more effective is crucial. Critics of racial profiling argue that individual rights are violated when this practice is utilized. Civil liberties organizations intimate that this type of profiling is in fact a form of discrimination and undermines basic human rights and freedoms. Researchers are interested in collecting data and analyzing trends to see how this information corresponds to perceptions of racial profiling and the effects it has on ethnic groups.

## History and Debate of Redistribution

Redistribution of wealth is simply the transfer of wealth, property or income from one individual to another. This redistribution is caused by some social mechanism, such as nationalization, charity, taxation, welfare or tort law. Typically the redistribution is progressive, referring to a transfer of wealth from the rich to the poor. Redistribution is sometimes regressive, however, referring to a transfer of wealth from the poor to the rich. The redistribution debate is widely controversial, with both sides arguing a number of different pros and cons for the redistribution of wealth.

## Pros to the Redistribution Debate

One positive aspect of the redistribution of wealth is that it applies to the human sense of fairness. Humans have an intrinsic sense of fairness, proven by psychological studies and experiments. Fairness within the world of wealth certainly does not always exist, particularly in the United States. Redistribution of wealth allows citizens to feel that a sense of fairness is established. Next, redistribution of wealth is good for both the poor and the rich. When the disparity between the rich and poor is too large, economic inefficiencies occur. The rich want to stay rich, but without allowing the poor some sort of cash flow the rich cannot stay rich.

Redistribution can also help contribute to the peace and stability of the nation. As demonstrated with protests such as the Occupy Wall Street movement, when the disparity between the rich and poor is

too great society falls out of balance. This leads to social unrest and eventually civil disturbances, looting and even revolutions. Lastly, if redistribution of wealth is constantly scrutinized it can work wonders for society. As long as the money is carefully analyzed and spent, the redistribution can help to eliminate poverty and starvation for a great deal of the population.

### Cons to the Redistribution Debate

However, there are also arguments against the redistribution of wealth. First, redistribution works against America's economic system of free capitalism. Government interference and calls for redistribution oppose the fundamental values of capitalism. Also, redistribution may take away from a society's growth opportunities. Redistribution may mean that the rich cannot start new businesses or hire new employees, and ends up hurting the economy.

Another argument against redistribution of wealth is that it may cause laziness. Those who are dependent upon the redistribution of wealth might become reluctant to do their fair share, as they no longer have to work in order to live. Redistribution is often considered bad because it is a form of forced charity. The wealthy might not choose to donate the money of their own accord, and are instead are forced to give up their money. Those who argue against the redistribution debate believe that the poor should only receive help from private groups that willingly help the poor, such as the Red Cross and the Salvation Army.

## **History and Debate of Social Programs**

### **Welfare State Debates**

A welfare state is generally one in which the state takes on the primary role in the protection and promotion of the economic and social well-being of its citizens. The welfare state concept has its foundation in the principles of equitable distribution of wealth, public responsibility for those unable to adequately care for themselves and equality of opportunity. Although some might argue that there is a United States welfare state, this is actually a point of much debate and contention as some would contend that the United States is not a welfare state, but instead, is a welfare society because so much of the American welfare system is provided by private corporations, private charities and independent volunteers as opposed to by the government.

### **Social Program Criticism**

Although some nations, such as those in Europe and Scandinavia, have embraced the idea of a welfare state, few would argue that, to the extent there may be a United States welfare state, it is not as comprehensive as those in other western developed nations. Until the implementation of the New Deal policies of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, an American welfare state was virtually non-existent. Today, the main components of the United States welfare state are primary and secondary education, tertiary education, disability and unemployment insurance, housing and income subsidies, food stamps, guaranteed public pensions and public health insurance programs that cover only about 20% of the population. Most social insurance programs are encompassed in the American Social Security system, the most prominent part of the American welfare system.

In contrast to other welfare states in the developed world, the American welfare state extensively relies on the private sector and does not provide universal income support or universal health insurance to its citizens. Many of the services provided by the government in other developed nations are outsourced to the private sector in America. The cost of these private sector services are usually borne jointly by employees, employers and government agencies. Critics of this system contend that this method of providing these services results in a burden on American businesses and makes them less competitive in the global economy. Proponents of this system also argue that it reduces the amount of government interventions in the economy and, therefore, is in accord with the capitalist notion of a free market economy.



Public primary and secondary education, which is universal and mandatory in all 50 states, is free in the United States. Tertiary education is not free, but is highly subsidized. Nevertheless, tuition costs have risen at three times the median household income over the last 30 years. Concerned that many American students will be priced out of tertiary education, liberals have proposed subsidizing an increase share of these educational costs, increasing the availability of financial aid and even free tertiary education.

Much of the dialogue surrounding the social programs debate in the United States tends to break down along political party lines and between liberals and conservatives. Democrats are traditionally more liberal and support the expansion of governmental support of welfare programs for citizens at multiple levels, often as a natural rights issue. Republicans, on the other hand, tend to take a more conservative approach, warning of the dangers of increasing the role of government in the lives of citizens and of shifting responsibilities from the private sector to the public sector.

## History and Debate of Welfare

There are many types of welfare systems in various countries. For example, welfare can be implemented via social organizations like religious groups, through the governments at the local and national level, and through inter-governmental agencies like the United Nations.

Welfare has a special political meaning in the United States because it refers to how the poor receives financial aid. In comparison, welfare services are regarded as a universal right in other regions like Europe, where it is believed that all citizens should be able to obtain a minimal level of social support and well being. This view of social solidarity prevalent in Europe implies that their people believe that welfare should be guaranteed for both rich and poor people, regardless of social status.

In the United States, the welfare system arose during the Great Depression, in the 1930s. In the 1960s, the Great Society legislation was passed, such that for the first time, people that were neither elderly nor disabled could receive benefits from the US government. These living benefits could involve general and special payments for certain circumstances (e.g. young mothers and pregnant women), food stamps, Medicaid health care and housing benefits.

During the period, welfare was initially regarded as an open ended right. This led people to believe that states had limitless welfare funds from the federal government. As a result, states did not have any incentive to encourage people to get off welfare and were not selective in how they gave away welfare funds. However, welfare reform changed it into a finite program which was created to provide cash assistance for the short term only, so that people would eventually take up stable jobs instead.

In 1996, Congress passed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act so individual states regained control of the welfare system. Although the federal government does not retain control of welfare, the states still have to adhere to basic requirements, for example, each state must ensure that recipients are encouraged to find adequate jobs so they do not remain in welfare.

### Critics in the Welfare Debate

The welfare debate is now in full swing in the United States. The fact that numerous requirements must be in place has been criticized as being overly paternalistic and unnecessary. This is because with such a welfare function, work requirements is possible and might be an optimal solution, however, the effectiveness of such work requirements depends on the accuracy of the screening mechanism which assigns work requirements. These screening requirements are not always effective.

The welfare system has also been critiqued as a means to patch up high levels of income inequalities that have been generated by the current economic systems. This applies to the US, as well as in other countries like Latin America. The social assistance programs Latin America, in particular, has been viewed as being over reliant on free trade and neo-liberal economic systems. For changes to be enacted in this type of system, reform needs to developed within the existing social structure rather than through systemic means.

Finally, many current welfare programs have been built as short-term rather than as permanent institutions. Hence, the bulk of them last for short time spans of about five years only. This is often because of the need to reflect the funding that is available.

## History and Debate of Social Security

Broadly, the term social security refers to social insurance programs providing protection against socially recognized conditions such as disability, old age, poverty and unemployment. Different countries utilize different systems for protecting against these conditions. When used in the United States, the term social security generally refers to the federal Old Age, Survivors and Disability Insurance program though the Social Security Act, as it has been amended, actually provides for additional programs, such as Medicare (Health Insurance for Aged and Disabled) and Unemployment Insurance.

Social Security as an American social insurance program is funded through dedicated payroll taxes that are deposited into special trust funds established for that purpose. The United States Social Security program is the largest government program in the world in terms of dollars paid. The payment of retirement benefits is the largest single component of the Old Age, Survivors and Disability Insurance program. The amount of benefits a worker is entitled to upon retirement depends on the worker's age at retirement and his earnings history. Revenue from payroll taxes has been the primary source of revenue for this program since its inception.

## Social Security Debate Controversy

Social security is controversial for several reasons. For instance, because workers pay payroll taxes on their earnings up to a certain amount, high earners whose income exceeds the cap pay a lower percentage of their total income in payroll taxes. Therefore, critics argue that lower paid workers bear a disproportionate burden of the payroll taxes, which are seen as regressive. As a result, critics argue that Social Security serves to redistribute wealth from the poor to the wealthy. Moreover, because persons who are wealthier also generally have higher life expectancies, they are more likely to receive Social Security retirement benefits for a longer period

Others criticize the social security system as a pyramid scheme. These critics contend that each generation of retirees receive benefits that exceed the amount they paid in and that are, in fact, subsidized by the payroll taxes of current workers. These critics argue this system works as long as each generation of workers is succeeded by a larger generation of workers. When a large generation of workers retire, such as the post World War II baby boomers, retire, the generation of workers that follows them will not be able to keep up with the costs of the system. Proponents of the system assert that social security is not a pyramid scheme because its revenue stream is transparent. Unlike the

social security system, true pyramid schemes distort the sources of their revenue. Furthermore, because social security is funded through taxes, the taxes can be raised or additional sources of revenue may be identified. These factors also differentiate the United States Social Security system from a true pyramid scheme.

The social security system has also come under attack by critics who claim workers could receive a better rate of return on their investment if they could invest the amount of their payroll taxes into the private sector rather than into the public retirement system. Proponents of the system, however, assert that individuals have differing abilities to invest these monies and that the private investment sector may result in outcomes that are less favorable so that retirees run out of money before they die. With funds dwindling, the social security debate is now at full swing in the U.S.A.

## History and Debate of Globalization

Globalization is the idea that people are now more connected across the globe than ever before. Goods and services are traded worldwide. Items from one part of the world are available in a large number of other nations. Travel between nations is also very frequent, leading to an increase in exchange of ideas and ideologies. Thus, ideas and culture are much more uniform worldwide than ever before, and many cultures have melded and meshed. The internet has contributed largely to globalization, as instant communication with anyone in the world is now possible. Whether or not globalization is good for the United States' economy is debatable, however.

### Globalization Debate Pros

There is certainly a positive side to globalization. Those who support it say that it creates jobs by making companies more competitive. This results in lower prices for consumers. Others support globalization because it brings capital and technologies to impoverished nations and brings international products back to the United States in return. Globalization increases the number of decisions that are made on a worldwide level, resulting in a merging of politics and decisions that are made for the good of people all over the world. The cultural intermingling that occurs also promotes greater equality and acceptance of others, especially since different people can share the same financial interests. Speedy travel and worldwide communication has resulted in a more educated, more cultured public.

### Globalization Debate Cons

Those who are against globalization often cite the fact that American manufacturing has lost 6 million jobs since 1980. Most of these jobs go to people in other nations where the costs of labor and manufacturing are lower. Another criticism is that this process tends to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. It benefits investors and business owners, but results in a loss of jobs for those lower on the pay scale.

Other criticisms of globalization are associated with social issues. Some believe that it makes it easier for companies to bend rules and act with less accountability, since they can choose to do business in nations with fewer regulations. Sometimes, prisoners and children are exploited and made to work in

inhumane conditions, as safety standards are nonexistent in certain nations. Additionally, some experts believe that globalization has led to the spreading of infectious diseases, such as AIDS, since travelers can bring disease with them when they go from nation to nation.

## History and Debate of School Vouchers

A school voucher is given to parents by their government to be applied to the costs of tuition at a private school of the parents' choosing in place of attendance at the local state school which the student would normally attend. While educational structures vary widely by country, Chile, Sweden and Hong Kong are all examples of countries that have a working school voucher system. In the United States, school vouchers, also called education vouchers, were first used in the 19th century, but they experienced a resurgence in the Civil Rights era when Southern states allowed them as a way of undermining integration in the public schools and letting students attend so-called "segregation academies" instead.

Both the Reagan and Bush administrations were strongly in favor of vouchers as well. Today, the voucher system does not sanction any kind of discrimination; it simply allows citizens to have some additional control over how the tax dollars they already pay for education are used. Parents are able to spend the portion of their tax that funds education directly by applying it to institutions that may perform better than public schools or provide a specialized context that their children need but that is unavailable through state-funded institutions.

## School Voucher Criticism and Debate

While the voucher system has many proponents, several criticisms of it have arisen over the years as well. Critics of the system charge that allowing people to opt out of public education in this way undermines the entire public education system and puts it at risk of losing funding and thereby declining in quality. Proponents argue that the voucher system allows free market competition in education and will inspire all parties to do a better job in order to attract more students. This effect has been proven at the university level. Public school teacher unions have been among the most vocal critics of the education voucher program, saying that it lowers educational standards and puts minority groups at risk.

It also is said to create a system in which there is very little accountability to the taxpayer, since school boards and other elected officials deal only with the public education system and have no input into what private schools teach or how they are run. Others have claimed that when vouchers are applied to religious-based education, this is an unconstitutional use of tax money that potentially violates the separation of church and state. In addition, the amount of the voucher is usually not sufficient to pay the entire private school tuition, thus making it more likely that wealthier families will benefit while poorer ones will not; in general, critics of vouchers often feel that they harm children who are already disadvantaged, increasing the risk that they will not get a good education or go on to get a lucrative job.

Because of the widely varying views on the effects of such a system, the school vouchers debate continues to be a source of much controversy; in fact, it has resulted in lawsuits that have gone all the way to the Supreme Court, who created a test of its constitutionality called the Private Choice Test and removed barriers to further implementation of education vouchers. Political support for vouchers in America remains mixed, with conservatives tending to look on them positively and liberals tending to voice considerable skepticism.

### History and Debate of United States Policy

The United States is a nation located on the North American continent to the south of Canada and the north of Mexico. This nation is a federal constitutional republic comprised of forty-eight contiguous states as well as Alaska and Hawaii, which are located separately from the mainland. The capital of the United States is Washington, D.C., a private district located between the states of Maryland and Virginia. New York City is the nation's largest city and is located on the Atlantic Coast.

The United States has no official language at the federal level, but the national language is English. At 3.79 million square miles and with a population of 308 million, the U.S. is the third largest nation in terms of both population and land area. The current President is Barack Obama and the Vice President is Joe Biden. John Boehner is serving as the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the current Chief Justice is John Roberts.

The United States was declared an independent nation on July 4, 1776 and has since evolved into one of the most diverse nations in the world. This is the result of a large-scale immigration from many different nations. The country now accounts for over 40 percent of worldwide military spending and is a leading force in the world economy, world politics and culture.



## US Policy Debates

In recent years, United States policy debates have centered largely on the country's foreign policies. The United States has a close relationship with the United Kingdom and Canada and often allies itself with these nations when it comes to foreign affairs. Many critics see this as dangerous and a sign of possible trouble down the road.

The United States spent over 600 billion dollars on military funding alone in 2008. This was larger than the combination of military funds from the other fourteen largest nations combined. Many Americans are opposed to the size of the military in the United States, as well as its heavy involvement in the nations of Iraq and Afghanistan through the Iraq War and War on Terror. Critics of the United States' foreign policy also cite the nation's dependency on foreign oil from these nations as a downfall.

The United States' economy is mainly capitalist with some government regulation of trade. The U.S. is the largest importer of foreign goods and also the third largest exporter. Critics often see the increase of imports in a negative light as it can be a sign of dependency. Others see this as an indication of a global market and praise the nation for its efforts to erase the borders of international trade.

Critics of the United States are also often concerned with poverty levels and the abuse of welfare or government assistance. About 11 percent of Americans live below the poverty line, and, in fact, the U.S. welfare state is one of the least extensive in the world. The system is more costly than that of most other nations, but ranks very well when it comes to reducing poverty rates among the elderly. There is still a gender gap in earnings in America, but progress is being made to dispel this.

The United States is a nation that was founded on the basis of economic and personal freedom. Some disagree that the government still maintains these ideals today, but others praise the nation for its ability to survive amidst criticism and hardship.

## History and Debate of National Health Care

National health insurance, if established in the United States, would create a single payer health care system. This means that everyone would have the same health insurance card and that all medical expenses would be paid from a single fund. Under this type of system, the funds that pay for the medical expenses of the entire population are obtained from a number of sources. Employers, states and even private citizens must contribute to the fund.

Many nations have established a national health insurance plan. The United Kingdom, for example, offers its National Health Service to all citizens. Australia also offers Medicare to all of its citizens. The Medicare plan of the United States is an example of a single payer system, but is currently available only to certain people. Establishing a national health insurance system would be similar to expanding Medicare to all people.

There are several different forms of national health insurance. In Canada, healthcare services are offered by private parties that are under contract with the single payer. In the United Kingdom, doctors can work for anyone but all payment comes from one fund. Under most forms, the government serves as the single payer.

There have been many proposals for a single payer national health insurance plan in the United States. The first proposal was made in the state of California in 1994. In Minnesota, there was a motion to pass a bill to implement state-wide single payer health insurance. This bill has already been passed by several committees. California and Illinois have also introduced similar bills. If the United States were to establish national health insurance, it would likely mirror the plans called for by these states but on a larger scale.

Several private groups of medical professionals have also called for the establishment of a national health insurance system in the United States. Physicians for a National Health Program and the California Nurses Association are just two of these. The issue has been a source of great debate in the last few Presidential elections. In February of 2009, one poll indicated that 59 percent of physicians felt that national health insurance would be a positive change.

### Proponents of National Health Care

Those who do support the establishment of a national health insurance system have many reasons for doing so. Generally, these people believe that health care is a right, not a privilege and should be available to all people regardless of employment status or income. Currently, most Americans receive health insurance through their employers. The quality of the insurance depends on the job that a person has, which leaves many Americans with less insurance than they need. Doctors are also selective in which patients they treat, preferring to treat those with private insurance rather than those who are covered by Medicare, which does not pay as well.

### Opponents of National Health Care

Those who are against the idea of national health insurance often feel that it is not the government's place to interfere in the health care system. They may feel as though it is unfair for those who contribute more to the system to get the same care as those who contribute less. They often feel as though health care is a privilege, rather than a right.

The United States is one of the few first world nations that does not have a national health insurance plan. Several groups are calling for change, however, and it is likely that changes will be made in the future.

## History and Debate of Medicaid & Medicare

Individuals and families with low incomes are eligible for Medicaid, a United States health program jointly funded through federal and state initiatives. States often provide up to half the funding with some counties also contributing funds depending on the state. Medicaid is managed by each state and serves certain categories of United States citizens as well as resident aliens. Categories include low income adults and their families, such as pregnant women, the elderly and people with specific disabilities.

Poverty is not the only eligibility qualifier for the program.

Medicaid is the largest funded medical and health program for people with a limited income in the United States. The fastest growing area of the program is nursing home coverage, which is expected to grow exponentially as the Baby Boomer generation reaches nursing home age between the years 2020 and 2040. This projected growth is a large concern for both state and federal budgets as the increase is expected to be quite large.

The Medicaid program was created in 1965 as a result of the Social Security Act. Each state monitors its own program, but the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services are responsible for establishing requirements related to funding, eligibility, quality and service delivery. Some states call Medicaid by another name. For example, Massachusetts calls it MassHealth and Oregon calls it the Oregon Health Plan. States may also bundle the administration of the program with other services like children's health insurance programs. States are not required to participate in Medicare but all of them have since 1982. The administration of the program is run differently from state to state with some subcontracting it to private health insurance companies while others pay providers directly for the services. Private companies are also used by some states to administer benefits and enroll eligible participants at a fixed price.

Under the Social Security program, dental services are included. They are optional for adults over 21 but required for those under 21 who are eligible for Medicaid services. Dental services include dental health maintenance, teeth restoration and pain relief. Screening and preventative measures are incorporated for children to focus on the early diagnosis and treatment of any conditions.

In 1990, the Omnibus Reconciliation Act created the Medicaid Drug Rebate Program. This program was effective on January 1 of the following year. It was formed due to the costs of outpatient drugs at discounted prices. Due to the recent recession in 2008 through 2009, Medicaid enrollment saw a large increase. In nine states, the enrollment was 15 percent or higher, which was a drain on their budgets.

Even though Medicaid is a well-known program with numerous federal and state agencies monitoring its usage, in 2010, the FBI discovered fraud from an organized crime group that billed the system over \$100 million.

#### Medicaid vs. Medicare

Medicaid is often confused with Medicare, a social insurance program that is entirely funded at the federal level. Medicare is only available for adults 65 and older, people under 65 with specific disabilities and people of any age who have end stage renal disease. There are three parts to Medicare; Part A covers hospital bills, Part B covers medical insurance and Part D covers prescription drugs. Some people are eligible for both Medicare and Medicaid due to their dual eligibility. Approximately 6.5 million Americans were enrolled in both programs in 2001.

## History and Debate of Patriotism

The word patriotism has meant different things over time with a definition largely dependent on the context in which it is used as well as the geography of the region and the philosophy of the inhabitants. Most people recognize that patriotism is defined as devotion to one's country. For many, patriotism naturally comes about because they are a citizen of that country; however, for others, it has a deeper and more emotional meaning. Patriotism is used loosely with nationalism, a term that defines a group of people who identify with a political entity on specific rights, such as the right to statehood or citizenship for certain cultural or ethnic groups. Although patriotism has a sentiment similar to nationalism and the words are sometimes used interchangeably, they do not mean the same thing.

The root of the word, patriot, was first introduced in the Elizabethan era. It was derived from a Latin word "patriota" which ultimately meant fellow countrymen. The Latin word originated from a Greek word that had the same connotation. In the 18th century, patriotism was the topic of debate as loyalty to the State was seen as a contrast to loyalty to the Church. Critics argued that clerics were not suitable to teach in public schools because their patriotism belonged to heaven and not the state. Thus, they were not able to inspire a love of the homeland in their students. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, a Genevan philosopher whose political philosophy greatly influenced the American Revolution and the French Revolution, was an influential proponent of the classical notion of patriotism during this century.

Samuel Johnson, a British author and major contributor to English literature, published a critique of his view of false patriotism titled *The Patriot* in 1774. He is known for a famous statement he made the following year "patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel." Johnson valued true patriotism but was critical of those he saw using the term falsely.

The act of patriotism is influenced by certain factors, such as devotion to a national or civil religion or theocracy. Some have argued that these are opposing forces rather than symbiotic counterparts. Researchers like Michael Billig and Jean Bethke Elshtain argue that the separation of church and state is difficult to determine and really depends on the perception of those looking into the matter.

### Patriotism - Good or Bad

Patriotism is itself a quandary for many people. Some look at it as a notion of which to be proud. Hearts swell with pride at all the things America has accomplished and her journey into becoming the most powerful nation in the world. A solidarity and unity is formed within the country that begets more pride and devotion as emotions spread. Others view patriotism as a result of arrogance, conceit and egotism that the concept is narrow and instead leads to our country participating in civilized slaughter and a principle that justifies training murderers to impose America's superiority on others.

Numerous surveys have been administered to measure patriotism. A project known as the Correlates of War found a correlation between patriotism and war propensity. The results from different studies are greatly influenced by the time they were administered. For example, patriotism in Germany before World War I was ranked high whereas now it ranks extremely low. Cultural influences as well as the emotions experienced during major events, appear to strongly impact the results.

## HUMAN RIGHTS

Human rights are the basic rights and principles that belong to every person in the world. Human Rights are based on the FREDA principles: Fairness, Respect, Equality, Dignity and Autonomy. ([EHRC](#)). Human rights protect an individual's freedom to control their day-to-day life, and effectively participate in all aspects of public life in a fair and equal way.

Human rights help individuals to flourish and achieve potential through:

being safe and protected from harm

being treated fairly and with dignity

being able to live the life you choose

taking an active part in your community and wider society.

Intrinsic to these statements should be the principles of equality and diversity.

The Human Rights Act applies to all public authorities and bodies performing a public function. The Human Rights Acts places the following responsibility on your organization.

Organizations must promote and protect individuals' human rights. This means treating people fairly, with dignity and respect while safeguarding the rights of the wider community.

Organizations should apply core human rights values, such as equality, dignity, privacy, respect and involvement, to all organizational service planning and decision making.

The Human Rights Act provides a complementary legal framework to the anti-discriminatory framework and the public duties.



What are human rights?

Human rights are the basic rights and freedoms that belong to every person in the world. Ideas about human rights have evolved over many centuries. But they achieved strong international support following the Holocaust and World War II. To protect future generations from a repeat of these horrors, the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. For the first time, the Universal Declaration set out the fundamental rights and freedoms shared by all human beings.

These rights and freedoms – based on core principles like dignity, equality and respect – inspired a range of international and regional human rights treaties. For example, they formed the basis for the European Convention on Human Rights in 1950. The European Convention protects the human rights of people in countries that belong to the Council of Europe. This includes the United Kingdom.

Until recently, people in the United Kingdom had to complain to the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg if they felt their rights under the European Convention had been breached.

However, the Human Rights Act 1998 made these human rights part of our domestic law, and now courts here in the United Kingdom can hear human rights cases. Find out more about how human rights work.

How do human rights help you?

Human rights are based on core principles like dignity, fairness, equality, respect and autonomy. They are relevant to your day-to-day life and protect your freedom to control your own life, effectively take part in decisions made by public authorities which impact upon your rights and get fair and equal services from public authorities.

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